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I am the author of this thesis, and the work described therein was carried out by myself personally.

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Table of Contents

List of tables

List of figures

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Abstract

As a participatory, action-oriented approach to research, Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) plays a social role in the distribution of knowledge in civil society and democracy, re/framing whose and what knowledge 'counts' and resulting in co-produced praxis knowledge that effects social change. In drawing together academy and community members from disparate social worlds and invested in their own discourses, every CBPR project generates unique social arenas. It is these arenas that form the focus of this enquiry.

Specifically, I understand the arenas as 'pedagogical spaces' (Burke et al, 2017) where the professional social categories involved in CBPR – academics, charity workers, and volunteers – engage in pedagogic relations that re/shape their professional identities, their ways of 'being' and 'doing'. This enquiry explores in-depth how identities evolve across the professional social categories in manners that enable, or constrain, individuals' abilities to effect social change.

My research involves a qualitative case study of *Engage*, a programme of five CBPR projects. Through narrative inquiry and an arts-informed approach, I investigate the learning and identity experiences of *Engage* participants, analysing these through a Bernsteinian conceptual lens. Specifically, Bernstein's concept of 'pedagogic rights' (2000) is deployed to explore how, through learning, people may drive social change. And his concept of 'specialised identities' (2001) is used to investigate whether participants' professional identities evolve to enable them to act meaningfully within CBPR.

Given my dataset, I expound a CBPR specialised identity comprising multiple components that empower individuals to participate and to take social justice-oriented actions that effect micro, meso, and macro-level social changes. Identities are transformative due to access to pedagogic rights. However, I also note a range of barriers to the adoption of specialised identities, including the nefarious impact of neoliberal pressures and the presence of strongly bounded professional identities. Such barriers delimit potential for outcomes in a knowledge democracy.

Chapter One: Introduction

The soil in which we are born is the soil of our village, the mother-earth in whose lap we receive our nourishment from day to day. Our educated elite, abstracted from this primal basis, wander about in the high heaven of ideas like aimless clouds far removed from home. If this cloud does not dissolve into a shower of loving service, man's relation with mother-earth will never become truly meaningful.

Rabindranath Tagore (cited in Gourley, 2012: 38)

1.0 Introduction

The focus of this enquiry – Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) projects between a public, research-intensive university in the United Kingdom (UK) and smaller voluntary & community sector organisations – is situated within the broader context of civil society. As a participatory, action-oriented approach to research that takes place in the space between the academy and the community, CBPR plays a social role in the distribution of knowledge in civil society and democracy; it re/frames whose and what knowledge 'counts' and results in co-produced knowledge of mutual benefit (Checkoway, 2015; Stehr, 2010). As a key outcome, it sets out to achieve some level of social change (Kleiner et al, 2012), and so is overtly political and democratic.

There exist multiple variations of CBPR as I consider in Chapter Two. But for this enquiry, my focus is on a variant that Minkler & Wallerstein (2003) term 'gold standard' that being, a participatory approach rooted in social justice and fostering the democratic participation of members to transform their lives and society. Such an approach is integral to 'knowledge democracy'.

Tandon & Hall (2016) contend that knowledge democracy refers to an interrelationship of the following phenomena:

1. Recognition of multiple ways of knowing (epistemologies) outside the academy, particularly the knowledge of marginalised peoples;

2. Affirmation that knowledge can be created and represented in multiple forms, not just text but stories, music, drama, numbers, poetry, and more;

3. Deploying knowledge for action, deepening democracy and forging a fairer world;

4. Sharing knowledge so that everyone who needs it has access to it for, as Goddard (2009) cautions, knowledge can be generated in the public interest but not widely circulated.

Within a knowledge democracy the critical, democratic, and emancipatory bent of participatory research fosters engagement of the oppressed in their social and political transformation (Bourke, 2013; Kleiner et al, 2012). Such an approach marks a contentious 'ideal' as I discuss in Chapter Two, Section 2.5. But there exists potential for organisational entities involved in CBPR – universities and voluntary & community sector organisations – to foster 'gold standard' research generating outcomes in a knowledge democracy.

1.1 Enquiry aim and objectives

My starting point for this enquiry is that every CBPR project is unique. Each generates a "social arena, an interacting system of social worlds, inhabited by a particular stakeholder group invested in particular discourses" (Genat, 2009: 104). This enquiry explores five such social arenas (CBPR projects) comprising *Engage*, a programme co-devised and co-led by a UK university and Community Connect, an exempt charity with over a decade's experience of facilitating and supporting research in local communities. In investigating the projects, I look to identify how CBPR generates outcomes in social worlds and how professional social categories – academics, charity workers, and volunteers – are enabled or constrained to perform their professionalism in new ways that impact upon wider society.

In my research, I draw on the concept of professional identity, that is:

> … the constellation of attributes, beliefs, and values people use to define themselves in specialised, skill- and education-based occupations or vocations.
>
> (Slay & Smith, 2011: 87)

Such identity develops "where agency and structure, or the self and context, interact" (Billot, 2010: 712), an interaction at the heart of this enquiry. I examine how distinct CBPR social arenas and their constituent social worlds shape, and are shaped by, professional identities of those involved. And I articulate the components of a professional identity that enable individuals to act meaningfully and authentically within 'gold standard' CBPR settings so as to effect outcomes in social worlds.

In sum, this enquiry's aim is:

> To explore the potential of Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) to produce transformative outcomes in knowledge democracy.

Two objectives are tackled:

1. To investigate the learning that arises for academics, charity workers, and volunteers through CBPR;

2. To explore how CBPR shapes, and is shaped by, the professional identities of academics, charity workers, and volunteers, and how it effects social change.

Through much of this chapter, I explicate voluntary & community and higher education sectors' social worlds and suggest that their missions within knowledge democracy are under attack by neoliberal structuring forces that affect CBPR social arenas and knowledge therein. I also consider my motivations for the enquiry, provide further details on its focus, and articulate its unique offerings.

But first, knowledge in its varied forms is integral to CBPR for its possession enhances agency. As "at the heart of civil society is agency" (Stehr, 2010: 19), it is pertinent to define the concept of civil society.

1.2 Defining civil society

Milbourne & Murray (2017a: 2) explain that civil society "encompasses everything and everyone beyond the business and public sectors", a complex array of formal and informal organisations and associations including, but not limited to: registered charities; membership associations; co-operatives; trade unions; social movements; universities; and faith-based organisations. These diverse organisations and associations embrace the concept of 'active citizenship', one that comprises varied activities, from engagement and deliberation with policymakers and other citizens, to conducting good deeds in the community (Aiken & Taylor, 2019). The concept is integral to CBPR.

As social arenas, CBPR projects involve civil society organisations and associations that play diverse roles within civil society, roles to which I now turn.

1.2.1 The role of civil society

Extant literature states the role of civil society, as either 'consensual' or 'conflictual' (Aiken & Taylor, 2019; Milbourne & Murray, 2017a & 2017b; Murray & Milbourne, 2017), as either reinforcing or disrupting the status quo. In CBPR, an awareness of the roles of civil society organisations and associations is important for it reveals their positioning as either normative or radical.

For example, where civil society organisations act as "consensual glue to avoid civil disorder" (Milbourne & Murray, 2017a), they align closely with the state and market, embracing quasi-market solutions (Kendall, 2010; Powell, 2008). Kendall (2010: 251) refers to this orientation as "quasi-market consumerism" that, he argues, is ascendant in neoliberal times. Citizens are reframed as consumers and "those of a more

communitarian disposition are given incidental rather than sustained attention" (ibid: 252). Organisations and staff are depoliticised (Powell, 2008), and traditional conceptions of volunteering abound – that is, non-controversial activities valorised as "a 'good thing' or 'humanitarian' almost by definition" (Aiken & Taylor, 2019: 3), and part of the social milieu.

Conversely, Milbourne & Murray (2017b) proffer social media-inspired movements, local campaigns, and wider coalitions that, independent of state and market, provide spaces for dissent and an articulation of ethical visions for society, enacting the conflictual role of civil society. Such forms offer a sphere of relational networks and communality that are "concerned with moral formation and with ends, not simply administration or the maximising of means" (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004: 132).

Bottom-up, activist discourse is highly political, individuals seizing social agency to take civic action that challenges the status quo and that fosters change inspired by social justice for all (Aiken & Taylor, 2019). Kendall (2010: 253) refers to this local empowerment orientation as "democratic life renewal" and suggests it has been "relatively weakly institutionalised in terms of policy attention and effort" (ibid) compared to the quasi-market consumerist approach. It is an orientation that aligns with 'gold standard' CBPR.

CBPR projects therefore encompass organisations and activities that are either apolitical or political, reinforcing or challenging the status quo. Given this enquiry's focus on individuals engaging in CBPR from a professional base – either from a university, charity, or association – it is necessary to scrutinise such organisations further, their roles within civil society, and the varied impacts of depoliticising neoliberal forces.

1.3 Introducing the voluntary & community sector

The UK's voluntary & community sector is structurally diverse as measured by income and organisational form (Aiken & Harris, 2017; Milbourne, 2013). According to the National Council for Voluntary Organisation's (NCVO) Civil Society Almanac 2018

[online], as classified by annual income most charities (around 97%) are either medium-sized (£100,000 to £500,000), small (£10,000 to £100,000) or micro (less than £10,000). Of 166,001 organisations registered with the Charity Commission (the sector's regulator), 14% (23,842) are medium-sized, 35% (57,472) small, and 48% (78,957) micro organisations.

The NCVO Almanac captures only those organisations registered with the Charity Commission. As such, it presents just part of civil society for, alongside registered charities, lie 'below-the-radar' organisations and associations (i.e. those not registered with the Charity Commission), estimated at perhaps 900,000 groups (Johnston, 2017).

This enquiry captures the structural diversity of the voluntary & community sector as it includes a mix of registered and unregistered types; four *Engage* projects involved smaller voluntary & community sector organisations (those medium-sized or below) and one, a below-the-radar association. For the enquiry, I use 'voluntary & community sector organisation' (VCSO) as a 'catch-all' term.

1.3.1 The democratic remit of VCSOs

CBPR plays a social role in the distribution of knowledge in civil society and democracy, as may VCSOs. Indeed, "a key purpose of many voluntary & community organisations is to 'speak truth to power'" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016e: 7), advocating for communities and the excluded. The voluntary sector is hewn with social justice values; many charity staff and volunteers are driven to pursue equality, "'making voices heard' and 'empowering people'" (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010: 106), and raising issues for public discussion (Aiken & Taylor, 2019), activities crucial for democratic societies.

De Tocqueville (1835, cited in Kreutzer & Jager, 2011: 657) conceives "citizens' participation in associations as a foundation of democracy", with participation and inclusion functioning "against the so-called tyranny of the majority" (ibid) – a means to challenge the status quo. In more recent history, Milbourne & Murray (2017a) present the 1970s and 1980s as times when diverse social movements flourished, providing

voice for social justice change and challenging existing service delivery models, by innovating new.

Eikenberry & Kluver (2004) proffer three civil society roles for VCSOs:

1. **Value guardians:** Supporting the private actions of individuals, enabling them to exercise freedom of expression and to take initiative;

2. **Service and advocacy:** Providing collective goods to local communities and serving as conduits for social change through mobilising public attention to social problems and needs;

3. **Building social capital:** Creating and sustaining social capital, building bonds of reciprocity, co-operation, and trust through appeals to social motives pivotal to democratic society.

In embracing these roles, VCSOs are "schools of democracy" (Dodge & Ospina, 2016: 480), 'producing' citizens able and ready to participate in society. Thus, charity workers and volunteers inhabiting such social worlds are invested in democratic discourses that ally with those in CBPR.

Dodge & Ospina (2016) note that VCSOs themselves are not inherently democratic rather, enact organisational practices that shape participants as active citizens. Dodge & Ospina (ibid) divide organisational practices between 'framing' and 'relational'. Framing practices support individuals' critical thinking and associated actions, enabling them to enact new, counter-hegemonic ways of 'being' and 'doing' vis-à-vis the state. Here, democracy is an ethos, a way of thinking and practicing that "places a priority on critical reflection, respectful but also conflictual debate" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016b: 7).

Relational practices "shift power relations between participants and 'experts' to produce member agency" (Dodge & Ospina, 2016: 480), an agency underpinned by supporting growth in member voice, equality, and efficacy. In providing opportunities

for individuals to set agendas or to make decisions, the relevance of local knowledges to policy debates is harnessed (Dodge & Ospina, 2016; Eikenberry, 2009). In building social relationships and networks, citizens share their experiences and opinions (ibid). And, in mobilising people of diverse backgrounds to participate, common cause can be found (ibid).

Yet these democratic forces, so aligned with the participatory bent of CBPR, are under attack in neoliberal times.

1.3.2 The impact of neoliberalism on VCSOs

VCSOs do not exist in a vacuum. They are subject to varied societal forces perhaps the most potent neoliberalism, a force that shapes organisational activities and professional identities and that produces distinct social worlds that impact CBPR.

Neoliberalism has dominated politics and economics since the 1970s. As defined by Monbiot (2016, cited in Murray & Milbourne, 2017: 18):

> Neoliberalism sees competition as the defining characteristic of human relations. It redefines citizens as consumers, whose democratic choices are best exercised by buying and selling, a process that rewards merit and punishes inefficiency. It maintains that the 'market' delivers benefits that could never be achieved by planning.

Neoliberalism has driven the rise of New Public Management (NPM) ideas that evaluate the progress of organisations and assess quality – a focus on efficiency and effectiveness (Burawoy, 2011; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Murray & Milbourne, 2017). NPM methods – burgeoning contract cultures, audit systems, and quality management systems – have come to the fore, obliging VCSOs to behave as though they are business corporations (Aiken & Taylor, 2019; Murray & Milbourne, 2017).

Milbourne & Murray (2017a: 1) frame the growth of neoliberalism as nefarious and at the expense of the democratic, drawing "voluntary service organisations into its gilded

web". Eikenberry & Kluver (2004) concur, arguing that NPM places little to no value on democratic ideals such as fairness and justice. Eikenberry (2009) also contends that market discourse: stymies the creation of spaces for civic action and engagement; undermines community self-sufficiency; and leads VCSOs to address the symptoms of problems rather than root causes.

Further, the rise of a contract culture with the state has constrained advocacy activities as VCSOs self-censor, afraid that speaking out might jeopardise funding (Aiken & Harris, 2017; Milbourne & Murray, 2017b; Molano-Avilan, 2017). Indeed, at times, VCSOs "have been directly criticised by government for engaging in advocacy work" (Aiken & Taylor, 2019: 2). Hence, "the ethical moral roots of voluntary action" (Murray & Milbourne, 2017: 18) have been displaced by a culture of survivalism and compliance.

Rising favour for competitive business models has come at the expense of a relational ethos, instrumental knowledge reified over the affective (Maier et al, 2016; Milbourne & Murray, 2017b; Murray & Milbourne, 2017). A combination of competitive pressures to chase and secure funding and a fear of unmet external targets, constrains critical reflection amongst workers and volunteers, limiting organisational learning (Molano-Avilan, 2017). Working practices and identities are affected in multitude other ways – cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.8.1.

Neoliberalised VCSOs adopt a consensual civil society role, relinquishing their social role and function as "schools or laboratories of democratic citizenship" (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004: 138). However, elements of wider civil society – especially associations, networks, and movements – have resisted co-option by the neoliberal (Murray, 2013). There still exist opportunities for VCSOs to reclaim democracy, to open up spaces of citizen participation and deliberation wherein public values are contested and a focus for collective aspiration (Eikenberry, 2009; Murray & Milbourne, 2017). Yet if they are to reclaim their public mission and challenge the whole social fabric, considerable resource – both human and capital – is required, something not presently forthcoming.

My attention now turns to the higher education sector, a professional base for a segment of CBPR participants. Rather than explicating the different organisational

forms and practices of universities, I focus on those of relevance to this enquiry – public universities and civic practices.

1.4 Introducing the public higher education sector

Universities have long formed an integral part of civil society. As with VCSOs, universities may adopt 'conflictual' roles, acting as civic places where ideas are challenged and subverted (Bell, 2012; Neary & Morris, 2012). Here, the 'ideal' civic university is one "at the service of the public … one that places social justice at its heart" (Holmwood, 2011b: 25), one that the public call '*our* university' rather than '*the* university' (Kerslake, 2018).

Social justice emphases align with the sector's charitable status and goals (Milbourne & Murray, 2017a). Organisationally, a small number of English public universities are registered charities with the remainder exempt charities (i.e. free from requirements to register with the Charity Commission) (Office for Students [online]). The Charity Commission's powers do extend across all English universities, but principal regulatory powers lie with the Office for Students (ibid).

Given their charitable status and the concept of education as public good, many (e.g. Biesta, 2007; Collini, 2017; Collini, 2012; Cuthill, 2012; Goddard, 2009) contend that public universities have a civic duty to engage. That duty is framed variably as: an ethical obligation to contribute to the common good to tackle 'wicked' problems (Cuthill, 2012); a means to effect societal change through collaboration outside of the academy (Gourley, 2012); and a chance to contribute to the development and maintenance of democratic societies (Biesta, 2007). CBPR therefore provides a means to enact this civic, democratic duty, a duty that I now explore in more detail.

1.4.1 The democratic remit of public universities

Universities' civic missions, aimed at leveraging knowledge to address social problems and to contribute towards building just and sustainable communities, have, Cuthill (2012) argues, existed throughout the ages since the earliest European universities of

the 13th Century. What has varied over time has been universities' conceptions of their mission and roles in relation to society. These have alternated between intimate relations with social institutions, generating 'applied' knowledge that meets the needs of society versus roles as societal observers, spawning 'pure' knowledge for its own sake (Brennan, 2002; Cuthill, 2012; Martin 2012).

CBPR generates 'applied' knowledge and necessitates civic universities that connect with local people and place, stimulating prosperity and well-being, balancing cultural and economic values whilst contributing to knowledge democracy (Goddard, 2009; Kerslake, 2018). In their "education of enlightened, informed and critical citizens" (Biesta, 2007: 469), civic universities enhance knowledge democracy. And through learning focused, "on the duties and entitlements of individuals in relation to other members of society" (Gewirtz, 2008: 416), they counter disenfranchisement, strengthening discourses of social inclusion and social justice, so enabling the active involvement of diverse people in society and promoting a sense of community.

In this, universities can be sites of public discourse, offering spaces for debate, bringing together multiple perspectives and knowledges and stimulating conversations where all are both learners and speakers – a deliberative democracy (Biesta, 2007; Burawoy, 2011; Collini, 2012). Through this active role, universities contribute towards re/shaping society, raising critical consciences, and challenging hard 'truths' (Miller & Sabapathy, 2011). Public funding of universities therefore represents the nerve of society to "build into its own establishment arrangements, arrangements for criticising its own establishment" (King, 2011: 80). As Burawoy (2011: 41) notes, such arrangements are increasingly necessary as more conventional representatives of publics, such as VCSOs, are "falling down on their public mission".

However, as with VCSOs, universities' public missions are being delimited by neoliberal structuring forces.

1.4.2 The impact of neoliberalism on public universities

Just as neoliberalism has re/shaped VCSOs so too has it, universities. Burke et al (2017) suggest that universities have been subject to a changing landscape that is highly competitive and hierarchical. We are living in an "age of performativity" (ibid: 132) where discourses of 'excellence' have gained traction, underpinned by NPM.

Burawoy (2011: 29) classes such discourses as part of a "regulation model", where the focus is on making knowledge "more efficient, more productive and more accountable by more direct means". Hence, the rise of elaborate indices of output and impact across the sector – the Teaching and Research Excellence Frameworks two recent UK-based models – that look to demonstrate the quality and efficiency of resources in universities. The global financial crisis of recent years, and successive governments' associated concerns to reduce the deficit in part through constraining public expenditure, have exacerbated regulatory pressures in the hunt for 'value-for-money' (Martin, 2012).

Burawoy (2011: 28) also notes a "commodification model". In this, knowledge is conceived an economic force in its own right (Biesta, 2007). As Neary & Morris (2012: 5) have it, "homo academicus" is replaced by "homo economicus". Through commodification, "markets have invaded every dimension of the university" (Burawoy, 2011: 29); corporate traits like the selling of teaching and research services have been adopted. Collini (2012: 161) rails against "pseudo-market guff" penetrating the academy, its evolution into 'HiEdBizUK'.

Twin pressures of commodification and regulation pose a direct threat to the concept of higher education as a public good (Holmwood, 2011a; Neary & Morris, 2012). In allowing the purposes of higher education to be defined by the market, public functions are altered fundamentally and nefariously. Even where social justice considerations are evident, they are co-opted as performance measures "which often seem at odds with critical concepts of social justice" (Burke et al, 2017: 51).

Cuthill (2012) notes that the individualism espoused by neoliberalism is deleterious of locally based participatory research approaches, which become the exception rather

than the norm. Universities are tempted to adopt research approaches that produce commercial assets for (inter)national markets rather than local (Schuetze, 2012). The marginalisation of local, participatory approaches further undermines higher education's role and autonomy as a social critic (Horner, 2016), reducing the sphere of public debate that is so crucial to building people's capacities as active citizens (Holmwood, 2011a).

As with charity staff and volunteers, academics' working practices and identities have been impacted by neoliberalism. Burke et al (2017: 16) note that the overarching framework of economic rationalism reinforces conservative and risk-averse tendencies and practices "in relation to discourses of deficit and lowering of standards". And as 'homo economicus', academics are subject to new forms of managerialism that constrain their autonomy. These, and other impacts on academic identities, are discussed further in Chapter Two, Section 2.7.1.

In sum, universities are charities not businesses, but neoliberal structuring forces have re/positioned knowledge from service to a 'knowledge democracy' to service to a 'knowledge economy'. The age of performativity has constrained the egalitarian, civic role of universities, and has marginalised participatory research practices. Just as with VCSOs, universities must recapture their voice within a knowledge democracy.

1.5 Why this enquiry?

As Etherington (2006: 77) reminds us, behind every piece of research is a human being who has chosen to "design or undertake their research for their own purposes, whether personal or professional". She continues that motivation for research "usually connects at some level with our 'personhood'" (ibid: 83), as was the case for me.

Across my career, I have worked in community engagement roles in both the voluntary & community and higher education sectors. I have been struck by the sectors' shared democratic values and desire for social change. Their means differ, with universities trading broadly in transformative knowledge and VCSOs in transformative actions. Yet

given their shared values and desires, potential for positive and impactful cross-sector collaboration seems immense.

Historically, there are many ways that universities and VCSOs have collaborated. Student and staff volunteering schemes are common; the widening participation agenda has led to the development of long-term relationships in the community; university arts and cultural facilities are often open to all; and students commonly undertake placements and projects in community settings (Robinson et al, 2012). However, research collaborations with VCSOs are an area of developing practice – the field "does not appear as wide-ranging or as well-developed as it probably ought to be" (ibid: 33).

It was during a dissertation for an MSc in Voluntary & Community Sector Studies that I first came across CBPR. I thought it an interesting example of how universities and VCSOs can collaborate for the common good to strengthen knowledge democracy (Cuthill, 2012). The participatory nature felt important to me as, from the very outset of my career, I had been encouraged to consider how collaboration could prove a way to empower those disenfranchised by the status quo. I saw in CBPR the opportunity to re/ignite the democratic missions of universities and VCSOs through a model of 'engaged scholarship', a "democratic process of co-creation of knowledge for social change" (Tandon & Hall, 2016: 21). It was enthusiasm for this model that fashioned my co-devising of *Engage* as part of my professional role as a public engagement practitioner within a university in the UK. It is the *Engage* programme that forms the basis for this enquiry.

1.6 Enquiry focus

As explained at the outset of this chapter, CBPR generates distinct social arenas that arise when participants cross organisational boundaries and engage in pedagogic relations. The approach involves spaces and practices that cause participants to question how they 'do' their professionalism, leading to the re/construction of professional identities (Neary & Morris, 2012). Participants are either enabled or constrained to think and do through CBPR and to effect outcomes in social worlds.

To address the aim and objectives stated in Section 1.1, this enquiry adopts a case study strategy to explore the *Engage* programme. *Engage* brought together charity workers and volunteers from smaller VCSOs alongside academics to collaborate on five CBPR projects. Academics spanned a range of social science disciplines: Education, Health, Management, Psychology, and Social Work. As producers of enabling ideas that empower people to act, the social sciences are suited to the CBPR approach (Ramirez, 2010; Stehr, 2010).

Combining narrative and arts-informed approaches, this enquiry investigates the CBPR experiences of six academics, six charity workers, and five volunteers, analysing their experiences through a Bernsteinian conceptual lens. Specifically, Bernstein's concept of 'pedagogic rights' (2000) – essentially, what citizens are entitled to from education – is deployed to explore how, through learning, people drive social change. His concept of 'specialised identities' (2001) – that is, identities that permit people within any given community to make sense of the world and act on it meaningfully – is used to investigate how participants' professional identities evolve in ways that enable them to act within CBPR.

Through empirical research, this enquiry will study how pedagogic practices within CBPR disrupt professional identities across discrete professional social categories. As such, it conceives CBPR social arenas as 'pedagogical spaces' (Burke et al, 2017) wherein pedagogical relations shape participants' personhoods. It will uncover the specialised identities that arise within CBPR – new ways of being and doing – that aid individuals to effect social change. Subsequently, the enquiry will provide greater insight into the challenges and opportunities faced by CBPR participants from differing professional social categories.

1.7 The need for this enquiry

This enquiry aims to make a unique, albeit modest, contribution to extant literature on CBPR in several ways. It extends an earlier pilot study (Stevens, 2017) that explored the impact of learning through CBPR on the professional identities of two academics

involved in *Engage*. That study concluded that the academics adopted a specialised identity that helped them to act meaningfully and authentically within their projects.

As an approach, CBPR has been practiced and written about by many over the years (see: Banks & Manners, 2012; Checkoway, 2015; Hall et al, 2016; Israel et al, 2003; Kleiner et al, 2012; Lencucha et al; 2010; Mayan & Daum, 2016; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003; Stoecker, 2012; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). The literature has largely focused on CBPR practice and its distinction from more 'traditional' social research methods. There has been relatively little focus on CBPR pedagogy and its implications for professional identities, how re-authoring of these may enable individuals to effect social change. Whilst pedagogic relations are inherent to CBPR, only recently has focus turned to articulating a specific pedagogy (Hall et al, 2016).

Clegg (2008: 341) notes that less conventional research approaches such as CBPR might be "important sites to investigate in relation to academic identity", as Kerstetter (2012) and Muhammad et al (2015) have done. Yet this is to explore just one identity dimension within CBPR, neglecting community partners' identity constructions. Indeed, Kleiner et al (2012: 9) encourage "future research to attend to the perspectives of both academic researchers and community partners", as in the case of this enquiry. And Stoecker (2012) stresses another issue with extant CBPR literature – a focus on its practice rather than on the social change it evokes, an imbalance to which this enquiry also attends.

Additionally, this enquiry strives for conceptual innovation, deploying and critiquing Bernsteinian concepts (discussed fully in Chapter Three) that arose late in his career and that were unsubstantiated empirically. Bernstein's theorising focused on formal education systems; the concepts of pedagogic rights and specialised identities have not previously been applied to CBPR contexts.

Finally, I draw on Burke et al's (2017) concept of 'pedagogical methodology' to frame CBPR as an approach. Pedagogical methodology constructs research as a form of pedagogy, one emphasising social justice. The concept explores how the unique pedagogical spaces that arise when boundaries are crossed enable people to think and

be different. Whilst Burke et al focus on the pedagogical spaces between teachers and students, I instead apply the concept to relations between academics and communities.

In this introductory chapter, I have presented the overarching aim and associated objectives of this enquiry. I have suggested that 'gold standard' CBPR is a participatory and emancipatory approach that effects social change in knowledge democracy and that generates unique social arenas that comprise pedagogic relations between stakeholder groups drawn from higher education and voluntary & community sector social worlds. I have posited that these social arenas shape, and are shaped by, participants' professional identities and are subject to neoliberal structuring forces that constrain the civic missions of universities and VCSOs alike. I have explained both my motivations for the enquiry and its focus and have suggested that it will bring new insight by exploring under-researched areas and by the novel application of theoretical concepts.

I now present in Chapter Two pertinent literature.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

To the oppressed,
And to those who suffer with them
And fight at their side

Paolo Freire's dedication in his seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970)

2.0 Introduction

Across this chapter, I present literature relevant to this enquiry's aim and associated objectives. In the first few sections, I focus critically on Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) to better appreciate it as an approach and to understand the transformative social arenas that it generates, and constituent practices therein. I then turn to the concept of professional identity, to normative constructions across higher education and voluntary & community sectors, before considering those common to CBPR. This is important for it is through such identities that social change is enacted. Overall, I hope that my exploration of pertinent literature will provide a clarity of thought and insight from which to tackle my dataset.

2.1 CBPR: Origins, theoretical underpinnings & definitions

As established in Chapter One, CBPR stems from participatory and action-oriented research approaches. A long list of terms represent these approaches which link "applied social science and social activism" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008: 26) but many, as in the case of CBPR, share in common "the integration of research, education and action designed to achieve some level of social change as a key outcome" (Kleiner et al, 2012: 2). The focus of this enquiry is 'gold standard' CBPR which, through its critical, democratic, and emancipatory approach, fosters outcomes in knowledge democracy.

The historic roots of 'gold standard' CBPR are commonly conceived as lying in the popular education work undertaken with, and by, oppressed peoples in Latin America,

Africa, and Asia by Fals-Borda and Freire in the 1970s (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). This so-called Southern tradition is driven by a desire to work with communities disadvantaged by globalisation and dominant society and is thus embedded in social movements or civil society bases (ibid).

In collaborating with communities through all stages of the research process, the Southern tradition looks to "decolonize the university researcher–indigenous community relationship" (Castleden et al, 2012: 162). It drives people forwards to that which has not been realised, to possible dreams and utopias (Burke et al, 2017). Participatory roots are therefore radical and emancipatory, underpinned by critical social theory, and targeted at enhancing knowledge democracy (Hawkins, 2015; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003).

Drawing on critical social theory, CBPR "views knowledge as historically and socially constructed" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008: 33) and assumes a society that is "class divided and, hence, inequitable" (Lather, 1986: 73). As such, researchers from the academy represent a "cult of expertise" (ibid) and are an inherent part of an oppressive social order. Within CBPR, their role is reconceptualised from holders of expert knowledge to catalysts, working with local communities to understand power struggles and to take actions to solve local problems (Lather, 1986; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008).

The Southern tradition exists at the opposite end of a continuum to the Northern, the latter being a historical tradition that encompasses "collaborative utilisation-focused research with practical goals of system improvement" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008: 27). The Northern tradition traces to Kurt Lewin's (1948, cited in Kleiner et al, 2012) action research model that he developed whilst a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and that was initially influential across Western economies. Lewin rejects positivist notions of research as an objective world separate from intersubjective meanings. In his model, researchers work proactively within organisations to generate system changes, solving practical problems through cycles of planning, action, and reflection-on-action (Kleiner et al, 2012; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). Action research is pragmatic, deploying research to utilitarian problem-solving ends to make systems work better (Horner, 2016; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). The assumption is of a society

operating from a consensual value base (Lather, 1986). Consequently, action research does not deal with inequality and social justice and rather, is usually deployed to increase productivity in the workplace, often to the advantage of the world's largest corporations (Wakeford, 2016).

The differing foci and goals of the traditions are surmised below:

	Northern tradition	**Southern tradition**
Focus of research	Utilisation	Emancipation
Target of research	Systems	Society
Goal of research	System improvement	Challenging elites and colonising practices

Table 1: Traditions of participatory and action-oriented research (after Brown & Tandon, 1983, cited in Wallerstein & Duran, 2003: 28)

With reference the Southern tradition, Freire's work on emancipatory pedagogy is instructive. Through such pedagogy, he aims to "improve the conditions of the oppressed through praxis" (Horner, 2016: 14). Praxis is "the process of acting upon the conditions one faces in order to change them" (Freire, 1970: 33). It is a process that I explore further in Chapter Three, Section 3.1, but for now, the requirement of praxis is theory relevant to the world and nurtured by actions in it, a reciprocal process of reflection / action / action / reflection (Burke et al, 2017). Here, "theory and practice are both interdependent and complementary, and each should inform and strengthen the other" (Cuthill, 2012: 88). This interdependency is crucial. As Freire (1970) contends, reflection without action is verbalism and action without reflection, activism.

According to Park (2001, cited in Wallerstein & Duran, 2003: 37), emancipation occurs along three dimensions:

1. **Power of competence** (i.e. developing new ways of thinking and ascribing meaning to your social world);

2. **Power of connection** (i.e. strengthening relationships with others within and without your community);

3. **Power of confidence** (i.e. reflecting on your own values and choices).

Freire's (1970: 82) concept of 'conscientização' is central to these dimensions for it involves community members acquiring "skills of critical consciousness so as to recognise and assume the roles they may take in effecting community and social change" (Bourke, 2013: 507). It is in coming to 'see' their reality with new eyes that community members "develop alternative ways of thinking and acting" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008: 38). In this manner, local, situated knowledge and experience is validated and harnessed to disrupt the status quo, acting against oppressive elements. Academics can catalyse and support conscientização, helping to disrupt norms and to develop new ones, but communities remain at the vanguard of social change (Sandlin et al, 2016; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008).

Crucially, liberation arising from CBPR is not limited solely to marginalised communities – knowledge is also liberated from academic modes of production. As Muhammad et al (2015: 1058) contend:

> The academic researcher may likewise find release from personal and cultural biases that can develop through the achieved status of rigorous academic training; and through the ascribed status arising from individual power, privilege, and prestige accruing as an academic researcher.

In sum, 'gold standard' CBPR is informed by a Southern tradition that emphasises democratic participation and emancipatory pedagogy and that produces praxis knowledge to effect social change in knowledge democracy.

2.1.1 What's in a name?

The conception of participatory research approaches as tracing to one of two historical traditions – Northern or Southern – suggests a binary that ignores the complexity of

difference within the traditions and along the continuum. Through it's 'cult of expertise' developed over generations, the academy has marginalised communities across the globe. Rather than framing research approaches as either stemming from a Northern or a Southern tradition, approaches could perhaps better be explored through the extent to which they enable marginalised communities, previously positioned as "the knowable object of powerful others" (Lather, 2006: 42), to become knowledge producers themselves. Moving away from universalising categories of difference between Northern and Southern traditions allows for recognition of the impact of "historical inscription, multiplicity and specificity: situated selves, power regimes and contested meanings" (ibid: 44).

For example, oppressed groups in the West have drawn on the Freirian Southern tradition to self-transform groups, organisations and communities. As Wallerstein & Duran (2008: 29) note, that tradition often resonates with CBPR participants from communities of colour in the United States because they have "recognised the colonising role of research, education, and religion in their own communities". And so, approaches from the Southern tradition have been used by the US civil rights movement and also by RefugeeYouth in the UK (Wakeford, 2016). And progressive institutions such as the Participatory Research Group of the International Council for Adult Education in Toronto and the Collaborative Action Research Group in Australia have been working for decades in the tradition to drive social change (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008).

In reality, there exist multiple variations of CBPR containing dimensions and skills from both Northern and Southern traditions. As I note in Chapter One, each CBPR project is unique generating its own social arena with research practices varying dependent on the ideology, history and local context of stakeholders involved. These factors all affect the balance between Northern and Southern traditions (Muhammad et al, 2015). And even the goals of these traditions – utilitarian versus emancipatory – need not be conceived binary. For example, action research could be deployed within civil society organisations to ends that enhance their framing and relational practices, augmenting democratic remits and producing emancipatory forces for staff and service users.

Despite the existence of multiple variations of CBPR all generating distinct social arenas, approaches do "increasingly share a set of core principles and values" (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003: 5). These are important to consider for they provide common components of CBPR social arenas. Israel et al (2003) articulate nine principles:

CBPR principle	Précis of principle
Recognises community as a unit of identity	The concept of community is central to CBPR. Communities as 'units of identity' may be defined by a shared geography or shared practices, experiences or interests. CBPR attempts to work with, and strengthen, existing communities of identity and may benefit from the involvement of individuals outside of those communities.
Builds on strengths and resources within the community	CBPR seeks to build on the skills and assets of individuals, to enhance networks of relationships and to strengthen mediating organisations that bring communities together.
Facilitates collaborative, equitable partnerships in all phases of the research	CBPR involves empowering and power-sharing processes that attend to social inequalities. Researchers acknowledge the inequalities between themselves and community members and seek to address these through empowering processes.
Promotes co-learning and capacity building among all partners	CBPR facilitates the reciprocal transfer of knowledge, skills, and capacity. The capacity of all partners involved should be enhanced to improve the effectiveness of the CBPR effort.
Integrates and achieves a balance between research and action for the mutual benefit of all partners	CBPR incorporates direct action informed by information gathered. New understandings may emerge from actions taken which then inform broader bodies of knowledge.

Emphasises local relevance of public health problems and ecological perspectives that recognise and attend to the multiple determinants of health and disease	CBPR efforts strive to achieve broad scale social changes aimed at eliminating health disparities and taking into account complex determinants of health and disease.
Involves systems development through a cyclical and iterative process	CBPR supports systems (e.g. organisations, partnerships) to develop the competencies to engage in cyclical, iterative processes that generate system-level changes.
Disseminates findings and knowledge gained to all partners and involves all partners in the dissemination process	CBPR seeks to disseminate findings and knowledge in respectful and understandable language, and to involve partners as co-authors and co-presenters.
Involves a long-term process and commitment	Following the above eight principles requires a long-term process and commitment by all partners, extending beyond any one funding period.

Table 2: Nine principles of CBPR (after Israel et al, 2003: 55 - 58)

The first principle highlights the centrality of 'community'. A distinguishing feature of CBPR is that it is based on a community's (self-) identified needs, an approach "community-based, rather than merely community placed" (Wright et al, 2011: 83). The community is both source of a problem and of practice to resolve it (Trickett, 2011).

'Community' refers to groups who share something in common, whether a geographical location, membership of an organisation, or common experiences, practices or interests (Banks & Manners, 2012; Israel et al 2003; Mayan & Daum, 2016). The community should be engaged throughout the CBPR process, from problem definition through data collection and analysis to planning for sustainability (Banks & Manners, 2012; Checkoway, 2015; Trickett, 2011).

When individuals approach a CBPR project through the lenses of institutions, their professional identities are foregrounded (Mayan & Daum, 2016). Those in *Engage* acted

as representatives of organisations rather than as individuals. Hence, this enquiry focuses on identities aligned with three professional social categories – academics, charity workers, and volunteers – rather than on more local, individual identities such as ethnicity, disability, gender, and social class.

Israel et al (2003) recognise the extent to which a CBPR project achieves any or all the nine principles depends on the context and purpose of the project and those involved. The principles demonstrate the most common characteristics of CBPR projects, projects that are "containers for participation" (Dodge & Ospina, 2016: 493), that empower individuals to action.

Despite distinct CBPR social arenas existing along the continuum from action research to participatory research, the key principles of CBPR indicate potential for an inclusive definition.

2.1.2 CBPR: Forwarding a definition

Defined by many over the years (cross-reference Chapter One, Section 1.7), a recent definition of CBPR, from the UNESCO Chair in Community-Based Research and Social Responsibility in Higher Education, is as follows:

> Community-based participatory research is a collaborative and systematic approach to enquiry that involves all partners in the research process, emphasizing their complementary strengths. It commences with a research topic that comes from, or is of importance to, the community and stresses co-learning, capacity building and long-term commitment, with action integral to the research.
>
> (Hall et al, 2016: 15)

In this definition exist the defining elements of Israel et al's (2003) nine principles – a community focus, a participatory ethos, equitability and co-learning, empowerment through capacity building, and action, all underpinned by long-term commitment.

CBPR's collaborative focus challenges 'traditional' social research that assumes a distinction between those who do research and those researched (Banks & Manners, 2012). Behind 'traditional' social research is an "objective consciousness" (Hawkins, 2015: 468). Herein, the social researcher acts:

> … as a 'detached' expert who defines problems in 'dispassionate' ways and who gathers data on 'human subjects' through 'value free' methods that assure the 'validity', 'reliability' and 'generalisability' of the findings.
>
> (Checkoway, 2015: 144)

In so doing, 'traditional' social research negates potential for multiple ways of knowing and for the co-production of praxis knowledge aimed at improving the conditions of the oppressed. Its practice marginalises huge swathes of non-academic populations, resulting in verbalism within and across disciplinary communities and negating opportunities for community members to acquire skills of critical consciousness to effect social change.

CBPR acts differently to 'traditional' social research. It eschews objective consciousness for "compassionate consciousness" (Hawkins, 2015: 144), a state where empathy with the 'other' is sought. Knowledge is drawn from diverse stakeholders, not just academic, and with an emphasis on "explicit, actionable, tacit and experiential knowledge" (Beckett et al, 2018: 4). In valuing experiential as well as theoretical knowledge, CBPR embraces both an "extended epistemology" and "participatory worldview" (Banks et al, 2019: 23). Community takes voice, transforming personal troubles into public issues and, in creating an evolving language through the collective naming of common experiences, situated knowledge is produced (Genat, 2009). So, CBPR challenges the hegemonic performances and discourses of 'traditional' social research – what it means to 'be' and 'do' the academic – and integrates different ways of knowing into knowledge production processes. Essentially, its task is to "produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently" (Lather, 2006: 52), generating new ways of knowing and acting in the world (Cuthill, 2012; Hawkins, 2015; Lather 2006). An issue lies in that

"powerful forms of knowledge are only constituted as powerful through institutional validation" (Burke et al, 2017: 33) and within higher education institutions, it is still that knowledge which services the market rather than knowledge democracy that is constituted as powerful.

In sum, CBPR provides an important challenge to 'traditional' social research, its participatory nature confronting positivist notions of science and its action orientation driving social change. It is CBPR's potential to change the world to which I now turn.

2.2 CBPR & social change

CBPR seeks to change society, to subvert unequal power structures – social change is its motivating goal (Hall et al, 2016; Kleiner et al, 2012; Lencucha et al, 2010). In its embrace of diversity and of alternative perspectives, it challenges established practices and ways of being in a knowledge democracy. The change it affords is via professional identities, with identities affecting practices and practices, identities.

Beckett et al (2018: 7) contend that social impact occurs at varied levels from micro to macro as in Table (3). Individuals' experiences of CBPR are central to this enquiry, a focus at the micro-level. It is at this level that social agency is re/discovered, challenging top-down discourses and mobilising active citizens through social movements based on social justice for all (Powell, 2008; Stehr, 2010). As Beckett et al (2018: 10) compete, changes at the micro-level may combine "to seed macro-level change and the emergence of new ideas".

The concept of social change is slippery and manifests in different ways. Stoecker (2012) claims two distinct forms – action and participation – that he asserts independent variables. I now explore both these claims for in part, this enquiry will attest to their 'truth' or otherwise.

Level of impact	Type of impact
Individual (micro-level)	Characteristics of stakeholders, including biological and psychological (e.g. improved mental or physical health; improved practice and skills for practitioners)
Groups / networks / interpersonal relations (micro-level)	Stakeholder relationships within a system (researcher / practitioner partnerships); practice changes within teams / departments
Organisational or institutional (meso-level)	Organisations including rules, norms (culture), capacity building and organisational structures
Societal or infrastructure (macro-level)	Wider social, economic, policy, and political impacts. Multiple institutions at a national scale. National public engagement, different elements of social and public value such as justice and equality

Table 3: Micro, meso, and macro-levels of impact arising from co-production

2.2.1 Social change as action

Stoecker (2012: 89) cautions against confusing CBPR, for action:

> Any researcher who goes into a participatory and action-oriented research project thinking that the research is the action could be sorely disappointed and their community partner could be thoroughly disillusioned.

Rather than assuming research alone can achieve change, Stoecker (2012) argues that research should be oriented to a clear social change objective championed by the community. Thereby, it is the community rather than academics leading change (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003).

The suggestion is that it is praxis ways of knowing that drive social change; through an "on-going interaction between reflection and action" people "promote individual and

social change" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003: 42). In so doing, community members "become self-sufficient knowledge providers and social change producers" (Stoecker, 2003: 99). Thus, CBPR enhances "community capacity to create desired community changes through increased participation, new skills, and empowerment, or new research skills, as well as the university's capacity to support community-engaged research" (Belone et al, 2016: 130).

Action arising from any given CBPR project is indicative of people's values and ideologies about society and organisations (Kleiner et al, 2012). Wallerstein & Duran (2003) differentiate actions as those impacting 'systems worlds' and those, 'life'. The former mark "highly differentiated legal, economic, and political systems" the latter, "the resource in which individuals form their identity and reproduce their culture" (ibid: 32). This distinction infers alternative ways of positioning the community, as 'consumers' in a knowledge economy versus 'citizens' in a knowledge democracy.

2.2.2 Social change as participation

A second claim made for social change arising from CBPR is that participation throughout the research process involves no less than "transforming the social structures controlling who produces knowledge, who influences public knowledge, and who controls the knowledge-production process" (Stoecker, 2012: 89). Here, the aim is to eradicate "epistemic injustice" (Banks et al, 2019: 23), democratising knowledge production to diminish the privileging of powerful professionals' knowledge. As the People's Knowledge Editorial Collective (2016: 1) note, "a person's race, class, gender, sexuality, health status or disability, a lack of formal training, or a different mode of expression, can all prevent their insights from being accepted as potentially valid". Professional expertise may be supported at the expense of other forms of knowledge. As explained in Section 2.1.1, this enquiry focuses on the professional social categories through which participants partook in *Engage* and so notes any epistemic injustices stemming from professional positionings rather than from disparities arising from other dynamics of difference.

Beckett et al (2018: 10) note a conceptual and discursive impact occurring at a "paradigmatic level". At this level, co-production has "the potential to modify ways of understanding the world and shift frames of reference" (ibid). It re-evaluates what is considered as 'legitimate' knowledge and challenges the cultural hegemony of powerful groups – a Freirian goal. Paradigmatic implications of co-production include (ibid: 21):

1. **Emergence of new ideas, methods, and relationships** – creating knowledge greater than the sum of its parts through enhanced participation from across, and without, academia;

2. **Transformative synergies as a result of complex sequences of interventions and interactions** – shifting towards justice and equality through the democratisation of knowledge and the incorporation of emotive issues within research.

In adhering to the principles and practices of co-production, the paradigmatic level creates a beneficial power / knowledge / action cycle for communities as in Figure (1) (Stoecker, 2003, cited in Kleiner et al, 2012: 3). By bringing people together, CBPR builds the power and number of relationships. In focusing on life circumstances, it results in more effective action. And in taking steps towards knowledge production, it enhances knowledge.

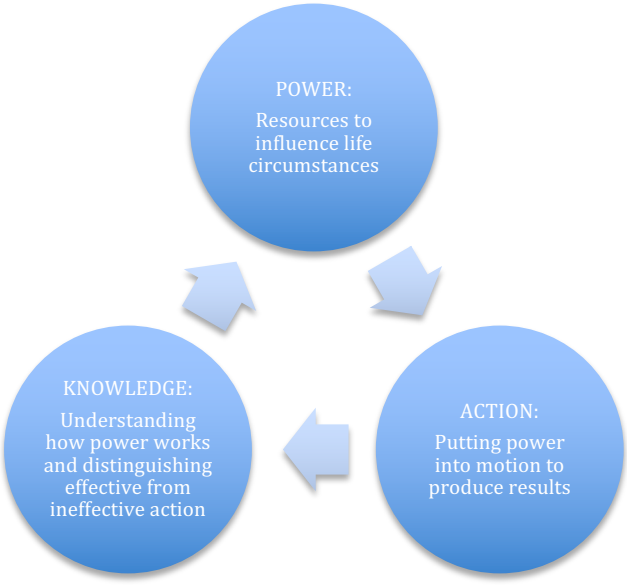

Figure 1: Interrelations between power / knowledge / action in CBPR

In the 'power' part of the cycle, power is re-oriented from academy to community (Stoecker, 2012; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). The more community participates, the greater their power to shape knowledge and action. So, participation addresses democratic deficits, empowering the marginalised to speak, act, and be heard in knowledge democracy (Horner, 2016; O'Neill, 2008; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). From the inclusion of marginalised voices and the collective naming of common experiences, situated knowledge, theory, and discourse about research phenomena evolve and epistemic injustices are redressed (Genat, 2009).

Participation is core to social arenas generated by CBPR. It manifests through collaborative practice and stimulates co-production of knowledge. Understanding both collaborative and co-production practices as particular ways of doing within CBPR is therefore important.

2.3 Collaborative & co-production practices

Within CBPR, collaborative practice between the academy and community aims to co-produce praxis knowledge via pedagogic relations, generating social change in knowledge democracy (Stoecker, 2012). In Section 2.4, I consider pedagogic relations further but here, I explore collaborative practice for, as Cuthill (2012), Belone et al (2016), and Matthew (2017) all contend, *how* you do CBPR is as important as *what* you do; approach shapes outcomes.

CBPR enables cross-sector collaborations between the academy and the community, that is:

> … the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities and capabilities by organisations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organisations in one sector separately.
>
> (Bryson et al, 2015: 648)

Through collaborative processes of reflection / action / action / reflection, transformative praxis knowledge can arise. The processes are complex and multi-layered, shaped by distinct social arenas and constituent pedagogic relations between varied stakeholders invested in certain discourses. Closer examination of these processes is necessary to better understand arenas from which social change may arise.

2.3.1 Collaborative processes constituting CBPR

The participatory and democratic bent of CBPR requires inclusive and nurturing collaborative processes, those emphasising tolerance, flexibility, and openness (Beckett et al, 2018). Collaborative processes bridge differences, manage power imbalances, and help create a unifying vision. They may produce social justice-oriented knowledge, accessible and usable by all, to effect change. Indeed, the 'Holy Grail' of effective collaboration is to create shared understanding where collaborators appreciate each other's positions well enough to undertake informed dialogue about different approaches to a given problem, thus achieving collective intelligence as to how best to solve it (Cuthill, 2012).

Bryson et al (2015) argue the import of building trusting professional relationships between individuals through demonstration of goodwill (e.g. sharing resources), competence, and commitment. Collaborative leadership (a role I suggest integral to CBPR and discussed fully in Section 2.9.1) is fundamental to building trust. Collaborative leaders bring legitimacy to collaborations and, through fostering conversations amongst participants, surface a clear and shared understanding of mission, goals, roles, and actions (ibid). They also demonstrate the ability to be "responsive, responsible and accountable to others" (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011: 1439) in everyday interactions.

Cross-sector collaborations in CBPR are marked by a "unity / diversity tension" (Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015: 289). They draw attention to what organisations have in common whilst simultaneously valuing the distinctive contributions of each organisation. It is the difference between partners that adds value, but the assertion of difference can cause conflict that constrains the collaborative whole. Conflict may emerge from differing

views on strategies and tactics, differing aims and expectations between participants or perhaps, tensions in loyalties to home organisations versus the collaborative whole (Bryson et al, 2015). If collaborators fear open communication about these differences, then "lifeless consultations" (Huxham & Vangen, 2005: 124) can arise, that "give people the feeling of being included but deny the groups concerned the enormously important experience of having a conflict, surviving it and growing from it" (ibid). Lifeless consultations therefore delimit the social change possible.

Whilst collaborations may be marked by conflict, they may also be marked by friendship, yet this can be no less problematic. Mayan & Daum (2016: 72) argue that friendships may result in "feelings of loss, abandonment, and guilt" within communities once research concludes. They suggest that CBPR gives an illusion of close friendship but that ultimately, as individuals approach the opportunity through their institutions, professional obligations are foregrounded. In addition, Mayan & Daum (ibid: 73) posit that, "unlike friendships, our research relationships have set timelines". The intent for CBPR relationships may be long-term but is always temporary and built with intention of dismantling. Too often, CBPR literature focuses on building and sustaining relationships rather than on "building, sustaining, *and* ending relationships" (ibid).

In sum, collaborative processes that constitute CBPR social arenas are highly personal, impacting on the knowledge generated and the outcomes possible. Tensions can arise as collaborators try to balance their distinctive offerings with unifying collaborative forces. Research relationships marked as either formal, professional undertakings or more informal, friendly ones bring their own tensions and ultimately, illuminate power relations within collaborations.

2.3.2 Power within collaborations

Collaborations are always shaped by complex power relations that arise from the interacting social worlds – the values, perspectives, identities, and interests – that comprise CBPR social arenas. Power asymmetries may exist in CBPR, relational dynamics hewn with tensions arising from "a nuanced edge between cooperation and co-optation" (Belone et al, 2016: 128). Community groups may fear being subsumed by

universities; academics must therefore constantly question who is telling the story and who creating the knowledge (Muhammad et al, 2015).

Huxham & Vangen (2005: 175) posit three perspectives of power within collaboration – 'power over', 'power to', and 'power for' – as in Figure (2). It is 'power to' and 'power for' perspectives that align with CBPR approaches. In the former, power is used for mutual gain, with inter-organisational connections extending individual power (ibid). The 'power to' perspective emphasises a 'can-do' attitude amongst collaborators who draw on one another to instigate change (Huxham & Beech, 2008). Within CBPR social arenas, this means participants are open to different meanings, experiences, and knowledges.

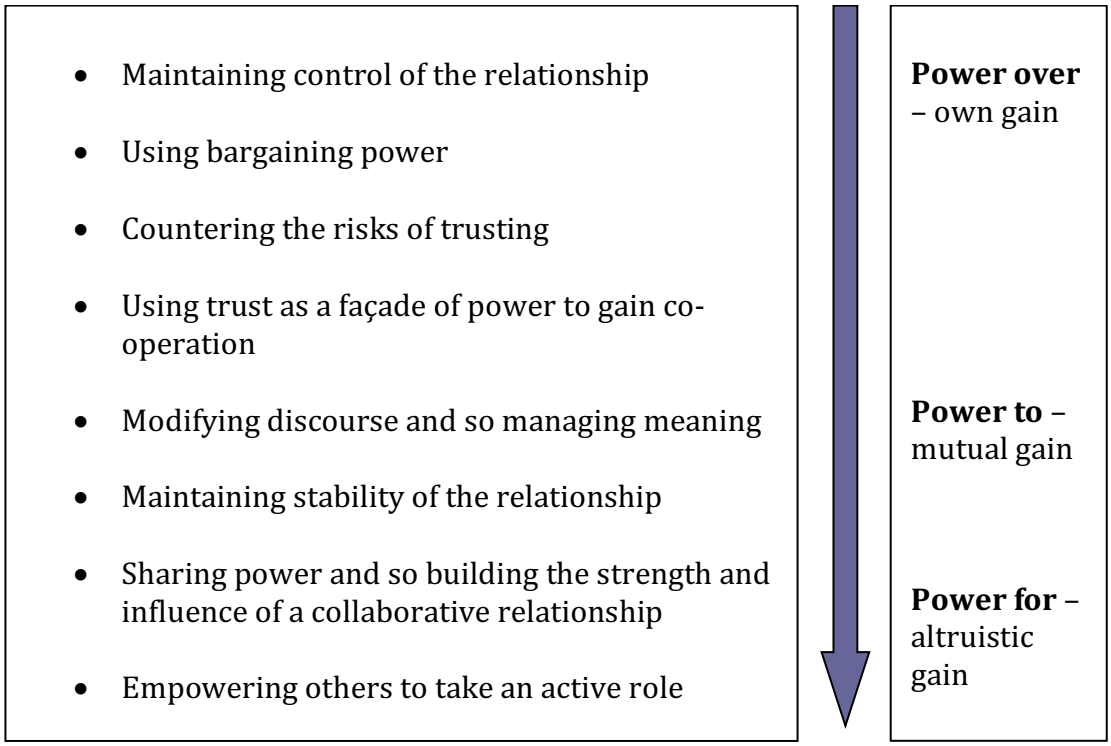

Figure 2: A spectrum of uses for power in collaboration

The 'power for' perspective is concerned with altruistic gain in which, through collaboration, power is transferred to another party, building capacity in the weaker, as in 'gold standard' CBPR (Huxham & Vangen, 2005). The purest conception of the 'power for' perspective is "collaborative empowerment" (Huxham & Beech, 2008: 562), where both the capacity of the weaker partner to set priorities and control resources and that

of the relatively powerful to challenge the status quo are transformed. Collaborators are empowered to adopt 'citizen identities', wherein they "critically reflect on public issues, make decisions, and take action in the face of injustice" (Dodge & Ospina, 2016: 483).

'Empowerment' challenges power asymmetries in collaborations. However, Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis (2016a) and Jacklin-Jarvis (2015) argue that in many instances, equalising power relations is unrealistic. And indeed, challenging the power imbalance "may itself threaten the objective of integration" (Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015: 297). Rather, the aim should be to "bring out the values of people whose voices can be muted in everyday public life" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016a: 17). This chimes with the democratic underpinnings of CBPR. So, managing power tensions within collaborations necessitates both accepting and working within power asymmetries whilst at the same time challenging them (Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015).

'Power to' and 'power for' perspectives focus on macro-level power, on how organisations wield power over others "based on resources, importance and structural position" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016e: 26). This negates 'micro-power' (Huxham & Beech, 2008), power at the relational level where individuals make a difference through discourse and meaning making. Given that the social arenas generated by CBPR comprise interactions between individuals, micro-power is important to explore.

2.3.3 The import of micro-power

Micro-power reifies the individual who, whilst disempowered at the structural level, may still identify as an "agent of change" (Jacklin-Jarvis, 2015: 293). The interpersonal matters, and influence can be "frequently enacted backstage, through contacts between individuals, rather than through formal processes" (ibid).

Huxham & Beech (2008) argue that micro-power is integral to processes of joint working and plays out in the minutiae of the day-to-day, from who arranges the time, location, and format of meetings through to who has authority to sign-off funding. Everyday interactions and conversations prove sites where people can seize micro-

power and demonstrate leadership (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011). Moments of micro-power shape actions, influencing discourse and the macro. Thus, whilst there might exist large asymmetries of power at the macro-level, moments of micro-power "in the hands of the apparently less powerful" (Huxham & Beech, 2008: 568) can be influential.

Seizure of micro-power is a performance of agency, a demonstration of the ability to act and make changes to a situation (Pearson et al, 2016). It is a requirement of communion – to build a shared vision, individuals must bring their agency to the table. This is a corollary of the unity / diversity tension in collaborations (cross-reference Section 2.3.1). As Pearson et al (ibid: 69) note, "we are powerful when we act together precisely because we are *not* the same". Thus, agency and communion are interdependent and for a CBPR project to achieve social justice outcomes, it must first ignite participants' agencies.

Power is highly dynamic, its balance shifting over time (Huxham & Vangen, 2005). Within CBPR, power holders change as activities progress; academics may take the lead shaping research questions and plans, before community members lead on research activities within their community. As such, power is fluid, moving "across and between differently positioned subjects" (Burke et al, 2017: 43). Power is not connected to any single source rather, is "interconnected to multiple dynamics, including space, place, time, context, identity and inequality" (ibid) and so plays out in different ways in distinct CBPR social arenas. Participants must engage reflexively about power relations and their own power as CBPR projects progress. Such reflection is important "not only for the weak and powerless, but also for more powerful actors who may themselves be trapped in received versions of their own situation" (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008: 182).

I have presented macro and micro-level concepts of power and their implications for CBPR social arenas. I now turn to co-production processes within those arenas.

2.3.4 Collaborating to co-produce praxis knowledge

Within 'gold standard' CBPR, co-production processes productively integrate different ways of knowing (theory and practice) between researchers and those concerned with

a certain research phenomenon to produce new praxis knowledge that is both practical and academically excellent (Beckett et al, 2018; Darby, 2017). The processes challenge traditional power dynamics by "valuing the expertise of experience rather than placing academic knowledge above practitioner knowledge" (Darby, 2017: 231). Co-production is thus a democratic process that generates equal and reciprocal relationships and that invokes socially just change (Schoen et al, 2017).

Proponents of co-production argue that resultant praxis knowledge is both rigorous and relevant (Schoen et al, 2017). They claim 'rigour' from practitioners and researchers engaging in "collaborative value-judgements about what knowledge is desirable, challenging assumptions about knowledge production and creating increased dialogue and relationality between science and society" (Darby, 2017: 231). And they claim 'relevance' from dialogic processes that span the academy and communities, producing knowledge that is context-relevant and adaptable (Schoen et al, 2017).

Benefits of co-production are often hard won. In negotiating power structures and diverse values, the process is messy, unpredictable, and uncertain (Beckett et al, 2018; Cook, 2009; Darby, 2017). Co-produced knowledge may build on participants' existing beliefs and understandings but equally, it may challenge them (Cook, 2009). This can prove uncomfortable, the temptation to flee or ignore unfamiliar views (ibid). Additionally, academics may struggle to relinquish control over research outputs and outcomes. And in some communities, capacity is lacking – the time, energy and resources – to participate fully in co-production (Darby, 2017; Martikke et al, 2015). If either side of a partnership does not commit to, or value, the co-production process, CBPR projects can degrade to simple modes of transaction (Martikke et al, 2015).

Across Section 2.3, I have presented collaborative and co-production ideals integral to 'gold standard' CBPR, surveying the challenges and opportunities of these at both macro and micro-levels, and exploring the import of power. The social arenas generated by CBPR are marked by pedagogic relations between stakeholders, relations that shape ways of being and doing. It is to these relations and how they may be conceived that I now turn.

2.4 CBPR as pedagogy

As Burke et al (2017: 53) suggest, research can be, "a form of pedagogy, as part of the process of meaning-making, learning and making sense of ourselves and our relation to others". They advance a 'pedagogical methodology' framework discussed fully in Chapter Three. To précis, the framework suggests pedagogical spaces may emerge from participatory research methods through which participants talk about their pedagogical frustrations, experiences, and expectations and re/form their identities.

Pedagogical relations of co-learning arise from interactions between 'masters' and 'apprentices' in shared communities of inquiry (Eikeland, 2012). Masters act as facilitators or catalysers of apprentices' learning. They disrupt others' thinking whilst at the same time enabling "them to maintain sufficient confidence in themselves as knowledgeable practitioners" (Cook, 2009: 285). As facilitators, masters enter "an engaged, intersubjective process with participants, and together they hold up 'mirrors and magnifying glasses' to themselves and each other" (Hawkins, 2015: 470); embedded in participants' relations to one another are their own relations to knowledge.

It is tempting to cast researchers solely as masters in CBPR and indeed Cook (2009) and Hawkins (2015) do so. This is to negate Eikeland's (2012) contention that master-apprentice roles are fluid, dependent on who happens to know the 'most' or 'best' about a given topic. Within CBPR, researchers are usually masters of the research process and communities, masters of local, situated knowledge. So, both sides adopt master and apprentice roles, in recognition that "developing an emerging mastery constitutes the real community" (ibid: 37).

According to Dumlao & Janke (2012, cited in Nichols et al, 2013: 72), facilitation necessitates a "relational dialectics approach". This approach involves collaborators adopting a learning stance "such that they become open to learning from evolving tensions and relationships throughout the collaborative life cycle" (ibid). The dialogue between master and apprentice should be 'back and forth' for dialogism means "talking *with* people not *to* them" (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011: 1434); meanings and actions

emerge from responsive conversations. In this way, CBPR pedagogy is not just what is done but the relations re/created through the pedagogical process (Burke et al, 2017). Dialectic engagement allows for "understandings of philosophies, principles and practice to surface" (Cook, 2009: 288). This enables collaborators to delve beneath rhetoric into deeper knowing, and enhances "catalytic validity" (ibid), enabling participants to know reality in order to transform it.

Within CBPR pedagogical spaces, learning emerges across difference; crossing the university-community divide results in moments of tension that serve "a pedagogical function" (Nichols et al, 2013: 63). Divergent knowledge and experiences and subsequent deliberation provide opportunities for learning that "strengthen people's commitment to the collaborative process and support the development of mutually beneficial project outcomes" (ibid).

So, co-learning involves preparedness on both sides to "understand and inhabit each other's worlds for a while" (Facer & Enright, 2016: 128). An unsettling process, it necessitates unlearning as much as learning (Facer & Enright, 2016; Hall et al, 2016) and a willingness to "inhabit a more ambiguous and flexible sense of self" (Burke et al, 2017: 45) – i.e. to adapt identity.

Co-learning also requires a deep understanding and awareness of power in collaborations, "paying attention to one's own personal power relations and dynamics thereof" (Hall et al, 2016: 26), as I discuss in greater detail in Chapter Three, Section 3.2.2. Burke et al (2017) argue the fallacy of power being conceived as a 'thing' that one group gifts to another. Rather, we all have the capacity to exercise power, although "structures and discourses shape the ways we live and experience 'power'" (ibid: 55). Within 'gold standard' CBPR pedagogical spaces, the potential to activate marginalised groups' abilities to exercise power, to challenge structural and discursive limitations and to create possibilities for counter-hegemony, is where true empowerment lies, not in the 'gift' of power from 'powerful' to 'powerless'.

Herein, 'gold standard' CBPR can operate as a 'social justice pedagogy'. Participants engage in reflexive processes, working with rather than against emotion, and "in critical

discussion about their distrust, fears and needs" (Burke et al, 2017: 39). They recognise that power plays out in pedagogical relations and so think through it, creating more equitable practices that have the potential to "bring about a sharing and potentially a transformation of knowledge and experience" (ibid: 57). The pedagogy represents new ways of being and doing; it activates conscientização and transforms spaces. In its embrace of difference and its challenging of self, the pedagogy stimulates "counter-hegemonic practices towards social justice transformative aspirations" (ibid: 138).

2.4.1 Forms of co-learning in CBPR

Co-learning can take multiple forms and is context dependent. Martikke et al (2015: 94) provide a list of common learning experiences for those involved in community-university projects (Figure (3)). Learning experiences are often about the collaborative research process as much as the research topic itself. Communities may develop research skills and related language and build capacity and competence for conducting research (Wright et al, 2011). These experiences can emancipate, enhancing community "voice and ability to participate in public and research-based discussions" (Facer & Enright, 2016: 129).

- Testing assumptions (seeing the world through someone else's eyes)
- Discovering one's own capacity
- Understanding assets, limitations, and requirements of the other side
- Navigating different organisational cultures
- Communication skills
- Understanding the benefits of partnership working
- Understanding the importance of flexibility
- Appreciating how to plan community-university partnership working
- Understanding the value of difference
- Working with new people
- Valuing reflexivity / research-mindedness
- Developing models for joint working
- Developing new ideas

Figure 3: Common learning experiences from community-university projects

Several (Facer & Enright, 2016; Nichols et al, 2013; Wright et al, 2011) have identified myriad learning opportunities for academics from CBPR. Researchers may learn more about communities, their resources, potential, and the best ways to communicate with them. Researchers' common deployment of singular disciplinary or methodological frames may be challenged and their skills and knowledge about collaborative research design approaches, enhanced. And they may learn more about their own potential and place within communities.

Across Section 2.4, I have suggested that CBPR pedagogical spaces can be marked by transformational pedagogic relations that, in the embrace of difference and the affective, stimulate counter-hegemonic practice with social justice aspirations. For this enquiry, I am purposively exploring this 'ideal' and readily recognise that it may be problematised.

2.5 Problematising CBPR

Minkler & Wallerstein (2003: 14) contend that compared to 'traditional' social research, "the academy as a whole remains highly sceptical of participatory and action-oriented approaches to scholarship" and that "the products of such studies are not infrequently rejected out-of-hand as biased and unscientific". Reification of the subjective over the objective and the active role that researchers play in the research process underpin this scepticism. Proximity to research participants – a so-called 'insider' role – is critiqued both for stymying researchers' abilities to notice the taken-for-granted (Mannay, 2016) and for risking complacency in interview processes (e.g. through offering information and opinions which bias responses) (Hanson, 2013). I return to these critiques in Chapter Four, Section 4.5.1, as for this enquiry, I myself am an insider researcher.

With regards the participatory paradigm of CBPR, issues related to authenticity and technocracy may arise.

2.5.1 Questions of authenticity

A key question is whether the reality of participation reflects the ideal (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). Lather (1986: 74) notes that there may be a "gap between intent and practice" in participatory research, with subtle coercion by academics coming in to play. Power differentials within CBPR can remain substantial, not least because academics "almost always have greater access to resources, scientific knowledge, research assistants, and time" than VCSOs (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008: 30). This may lead to a "tyranny of decision making" (ibid: 32) where academic expertise overrides community decision making processes, a form of epistemic injustice.

Tensions may also exist as to how community members are, or are not, represented by others (Horner, 2016; O'Neill, 2008; Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). Community 'gatekeepers' already in power can maintain local power differentials, using practices of participation to further their own influence and to reinforce their power, a charge oft-levelled at charity workers (Horner, 2016). Volunteers may be more representative of the 'grassroots' as they share direct experiences with communities benefitting from the research (Israel et al, 2003). However, no one individual can ever legitimately represent a specific subpopulation, just as no one organisation can ever lay claim to represent an entire community (ibid).

As in Section 2.3.2, notions of empowerment within CBPR are also problematic. Those with power may condition it within the bounds of the existing order (Leal, 2007), so restricting its transformative potential and limiting the ability of the marginalised to confront the causes of their marginalisation (ibid). As Freire (1970: 47) contends, "freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift", by marginalised peoples seizing power through their own praxis.

2.5.2 The rise of technocracy?

Leal (2007) contends that participation has been incorporated by the dominant order to assert control, citizenship a way to "embed neoliberal thought" (Murray, 2013: 2). By focusing on the techniques of participation rather than on its meaning – a form of

methodological instrumentalism – participation has been depoliticised and "liberated from any meaningful form of social confrontation" (Leal, 2007: 544). Leal contends that it is now about transforming institutional practices rather than society – a focus on systems not life worlds. Tomlinson & Schwabenland (2010) concur and contend that social justice arguments have been leveraged for competitive advantage, becoming a means to an end rather than a desirable end in themselves. The application of CBPR in such instrumental ways and for predetermined ends relegates local knowledge and influence (Trickett, 2011).

These are important challenges for they remind us that any CBPR project is constructed by a cadre of professionals, whether academics or practitioners, who possess the ability to create and sustain discourses that restrict challenges to the status quo (Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). And there is a danger that the word 'participatory' is co-opted by academics in grant applications to secure funding, without true and critical reflection on what the word really means, so "ignoring the humanity of research subjects" (People's Knowledge Editorial Collective, 2016: 7).

Burns (2012: 269) furthers that the liminal space that insider researchers occupy can "inhibit and constrict the internal and external critical voice, as an awareness of consequence overrides emerging participative understanding". Silence within CBPR, a fear of 'rocking the boat' and damaging collaborative relationships, enhances the likelihood of utilitarian rather than critical research. Certainly, Bourke (2013: 512) notes a dichotomy between participatory research that uncritically embraces market-driven values and policies and that, which nurtures "an oppositional space to market-driven imperatives".

Within CBPR practice, these tensions may play out over the vexed issue of how much participation the community 'needs' and 'wants'. As Stoecker (2003: 107) suggests, CBPR projects often require "a trade-off between efficiency and democracy" – a balance between getting on and doing things versus taking the time to support participation throughout. Communities may already have a sense of empowerment on an issue in which case, "participation in every aspect of research may not make sense" (ibid: 106).

This is a reminder that if CBPR is truly rooted in community needs and wants, its form – whether efficient or democratic – should be shaped by those.

So far in this chapter, I have examined the social arenas generated by 'gold standard' CBPR that form the bedrock of this enquiry. I have suggested that such social arenas may be conceived 'pedagogical spaces', constituted by pedagogic relations, collaborative and co-production practices with social justice orientations, and generating praxis knowledge with outcomes in knowledge democracy. I have also recognised the limitations of the CBPR 'ideal' and how it may be co-opted by the neoliberal.

In what remains of this chapter, I focus on literature with relation the professional identities of academics and communities. This is crucial because it is through identities that participants are enabled, or constrained, to effect social change.

2.6 Professional identity: An overview

This enquiry explores a specific concept of identity – professional identity – for it is from professional social bases that academics, charity workers, and volunteers engage in CBPR. Institutions matter for they leave a "mark on 'a life', in the identity, thinking, feeling of the person" (Ranson & Stewart, 1998: 261). They shape understandings as to what it is to 'be' a certain type of professional, as to the type of work and knowledge reified within a given field.

The moral and value dimensions of professional identities are important elements of identity construction for, when struggling with professional judgements as to what is 'good', 'bad' or 'important', values come to the fore (Fitzmaurice, 2013). To this, Webb (2015: 2) adds 'motives' and 'experiences' as key components of what he constitutes the "professional self-concept" of identity. Both Slay & Smith (2011) and Webb (2015) articulate that it is *how* people think about themselves in a profession that drives professional identity.

An agential focus necessitates consideration of what makes people 'feel' professional. Writing about the academy, Archer (2008a: 397) identifies "three key aspects of 'being',

'having', and 'doing'" that shape what it is to 'feel' academic. 'Being' centres on the qualities and practices associated with scholarship; 'having' associates with 'insider' knowledge as to the workings of academia; and 'doing' links to performing research-related activities (ibid). I suggest these aspects of feeling transferable to any profession.

Identities are not purely the result of agency but of interactions between agency and structure. Burke et al (2017) posit institutional fields as sites in which subjectivity is formed and personhood constituted. Individuals "cannot exist outside of the conditions and locations within which they are located and by which they are constituted" (Archer, 2008b: 282). For example, within higher education, being a 'proper' academic depends on certain performatives and discourses, whilst "powerful forms of knowledge are only constituted as powerful through institutional validation" (Burke et al, 2017: 33).

Other institutions provide similar framings as to the 'professional'. According to Webb (2015), there are three main contextual workplace factors that shape professional identity:

1. **Distinctiveness:** How a profession's values and practices relate to other comparable groups;

2. **Prestige:** An emphasis on status, reputation, and credentials. Success within a career is often associated with a successful professional identity construction (Slay & Smith, 2011);

3. **Salience of the out-group:** Awareness of the out-group, those who do not belong, reinforces awareness of one's in-group.

These factors influence what it means to be 'professional' within any given field and by extension, what it means to be 'unprofessional' (Webb, 2015). Accusations of being 'unprofessional' are a powerful shaming device used by institutions to strengthen in-groups. In-groups influence professional socialisation, itself a crucial factor in identity formation. Complex networks of social interaction, explicit and tacit knowledge

acquisition, mentors, role models, and experiential learning, all influence individuals, "causing them to gradually think, act, and feel" (Webb, 2015: 7) like a professional.

CBPR involves in-groups working with out-groups in ways that shape what it means to be 'professional'. Identity construction within CBPR can be problematic. Olesen (2001) suggests that strongly bounded professional identities restrict an individual's learning potential as they are closed to out-group influences. And, Webb (2015: 8) contends that "employees are enjoined to develop self-images, narrative repertoires and work orientations that are deemed congruent with narrow managerially defined objectives", although he does recognise the potential of agency to counter such identity regulation. Nevertheless, dominant organisational rules may restrict learning in CBPR, resulting in 'lifeless consultations' (cross-reference Section 2.3.1).

As in Chapter One, social arenas generated by CBPR are impacted by neoliberalism, its structuring forces shaping professional identities in both the academy and voluntary & community sector, as I address in the following sections.

2.7 Professional identities in the academy

Academic identity is, argues Henkel (2005), shaped by interactions between individuals and two key communities – discipline and institution. Both Henkel (2005) and Quigley (2011) note the primacy of discipline in academic working lives. Despite the shift in recent decades to applied research, "making a distinctive, individual contribution in a specified area of the discipline" (Henkel, 2005: 167) remains foremost, as does academic freedom. This 'freedom' is conceived as autonomy to choose and pursue a research agenda (ibid).

Institutional impact on academic identity is discussed in the next section but here I briefly consider the impact of agency on academic identity. Archer (2008a: 397) suggests that individual academics may construct their academic identity as "a form of 'principled' personal project", one underpinned by "core values of intellectual endeavour, criticality, ethics and professionalism". She contends notions of happiness

and self-fulfilment are more important to academics than instrumental measures of success, an emphasis on collegiality and collaboration above individualistic drive.

Given that identity arises from the inter-relationships between structures and agents, changing conditions at the structural level must compel re/articulation of what it is to be professional (Abbas & McLean, 2001). I now turn to how neoliberal forces have impelled re/articulation of academic identities.

2.7.1 Neoliberalism: Impacting on academic identities

The imperatives of global neoliberalism, imbued with discourses of 'competition' and 'excellence', have compelled academics towards identities for and of the market (Burke et al, 2017). The growth in New Public Managerialism (NPM) within the 'corporate' university necessitates academics that are flexible, productive, resilient, and oriented towards economic objectives (Archer, 2008a; Burke et al, 2017).

Within the corporate university, pressure exists to be the 'right' kind of academic producing the 'right' products. Archer (2008a: 389) contends that the products reified are "the winning of external revenues for research" and the production of 'high quality' publications as recognised through peer review processes. These 'outputs' are deemed important as they contribute to "an institution's overall strategy to maintain and improve its market position" (Harris, 2005: 426). Pressure to conform to, and master, modes of performativity leads to a fear of difference, to risk-averse pedagogic practices and identity work (Burke et al, 2017). In this, ways of being and doing integral to CBPR are marginalised.

In conforming to neoliberal values, identities, and practices within the academy, researchers are subject to a form of "symbolic violence" (Burke et al, 2017). Those seen as different, who fail to conform to idealised sets of standards and homogenising practices that signify the likes of 'quality' and 'excellence' are "often viewed as 'high-risk' and threatening to academic standards" (ibid: 36). Given CBPR's marginalised status within the academy, its difference from 'traditional' social research and its

reification of the democratic over the economic, some academics may fear ostracism via its practice.

Archer (2008b) argues that academics manage contradictions between their own collegiate, 'principled' projects and the competitive, individualistic practices within higher education. She suggests that many perform a balancing act through a psychic splitting between "performances of self and the internalised sense of self" (ibid: 282) in which they *do* without *being* a neoliberal subject. So, academics may enact the neoliberal whilst retaining social justice embedded identities (Muhammad et al, 2015).

To paint academics as powerless pawns in the face of performativity discourses is to deny their undoubted ability to resist. In resisting and refusing roles and identities imposed officially within the sector, academics "unbecome" (Colley et al, 2007: 184), embracing new ways of being. Thus, professional identities are disrupted processes that not only involve 'becoming' but also, 'unbecoming' (Archer, 2008a).

Identity work could, Harris (2005) contends, be seized to re-articulate the democratic purposes of the academy, invigorating its moral purpose by opening up "new ways of thinking and working" and allowing "insights into other worlds and ways of being" (ibid: 429) – just as in CBPR. Indeed, Fitzmaurice (2013) propounds that moral purposefulness, beyond mere notions of performativity, is a key motivator for early career academics, who demonstrate a desire to serve others for the greater good of society. So, CBPR presents an opportunity for academics to 'unbecome' from normative disciplinary and corporate identities.

Tensions between managerial and democratic logics, result in hybrid academic identities (Webb, 2015). As academics increasingly operate within internal and external environments marked by different knowledges, relationships, and legitimacies, so their identities become more complex (Clarke et al, 2013). In traversing university-community boundaries to produce praxis knowledge, CBPR may lead to a hybrid identity that Clegg (2008: 335) terms "pracademic", a marriage of practice and academic.

In sum, neoliberal and disciplinary pressures shape normative ways of being and doing in the academy. Ways of being and doing within CBPR provide a bulwark to managerial logics, opportunities to 'unbecome' that align more with collaborative and collegiate 'principled' personal projects.

2.8 Professional identities in the voluntary & community sector

According to Kreutzer & Jager (2011), there exist two, contradictory VCSO professional identity dimensions: volunteer and managerial, the latter referring to paid staff within a VCSO. They suggest (2011: 639) that the duality of identity in VCSOs "is ideographic in nature; contradictory identity dimensions – volunteering and managerialism – coexist and are claimed by different groups (volunteers and paid staff) within the organisation". Just as hybrid identities may arise in the academy, so too in VCSOs. Dual identities can merge to produce a "quasi volunteer" (ibid: 643) identity (i.e. a staff member possessing organisational perspectives and work practices more akin to a volunteer) or a "quasi managerial" (ibid) identity (i.e. a volunteer adopting business practices in their work).

Differentiations between the identity dimensions are many and varied but chief amongst them is the distinction between 'amateur' and 'professional'. Volunteers are often attributed the identity of "a group of well-meaning amateurs" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016b: 21) as opposed to the "professional nature" (ibid) of sector staff and leaders. Herein lie different ways of doing between the two identity dimensions. Kreutzer & Jager (2011: 636) generalise these differences as between informal volunteer ways characterised by "basic democratic structures and non-managerial logics in which integration is more important than efficiency" versus formal managerial ways that prioritise efficiency, hierarchies, and structures.

This distinction between informal and formal ways of working aligns with differences in organisational scale. Aiken & Harris (2017: 336) note the "informal, family-style culture of smaller organisations" that leave them well-positioned to focus on, and respond proactively to, local needs and to build community. This compared to more formal working practices of larger VCSOs.

Kreutzer & Jager (2011) make some additional observations about volunteer identity, namely that:

a) A strong discourse of 'sacrifice' exists amongst volunteers, as they gift their time for free for a cause / organisation;

b) As they provide their time for free and there is no contractual obligation, volunteers require regular praise, reassurance, and recognition;

c) Volunteers must feel they are making a difference and have the freedom to use their initiative and creativity to get things done.

I have explained how two distinct, and contradictory, identity dimensions – managerial and volunteer – co-exist within VCSOs. Now, I turn to how neoliberal forces within the voluntary & community sector have impelled re/articulation of these identities.

2.8.1 Neoliberalism: Impacting on managerial & volunteer identities

As in the academy, the rise of NPM has affected VCSOs and identities therein. Becoming business-like privileges instrumental rationality over "substantive rationalities based on empathy, religion, aesthetics, feminism, and so on" (Maier et al, 2016: 77). And meaningful, service activities have been displaced by organisational processes and systems (Murray & Milbourne, 2017; Potts, 2017).

Indeed, Potts (2017) suggests that the rise in professionalisation causes disjuncture between paid staff's personal principles (e.g. the desire to make a difference or to create change) and work values (e.g. those focused on winning funding or meeting numerical targets). As staff chase funds and new contracts to ensure organisational survival, they overwork and lose reflective space, their freedom to "think creatively and make judgements about problems or to develop the kinds of innovative approaches for which voluntary organisations have been valued" (Molano-Avilon, 2017: 139). Feelings of guilt and anxiety arise as staff recognise that prioritising organisational survival displaces the ethical and moral roots of voluntary action. This mirrors the tensions that

academics face between institutional 'outputs' and 'principled' personal projects and indicates that charity workers may too need to psychically split between performances, and internalised senses, of self.

Professionalisation also affects volunteers' identities and practices. NPM forces a qualitative change in voluntary work as volunteers are increasingly "involved in ancillary tasks, whereas central tasks are performed by paid staff" (Maier et al, 2016: 76). The introduction of bureaucratic procedures and management instruments introduce levels of formality and tighter task-orientations that restrict the creativity, freedom of action, and participatory impulses that volunteers so value (Aiken & Taylor, 2019; Kreutzer & Jager, 2011). As such, it is unsurprising that studies have shown that NPM "leads to a decline in volunteer motivation" (Kreutzer & Jager, 2011: 655).

What is more, political expression becomes discouraged (Aiken & Taylor, 2019). Indeed, Murray & Milbourne (2017) and Molano-Avilon (2017) assert a depoliticisation of the sector due to NPM, leading to a subsequent rise in apolitical identities. Staff have been particularly affected by the "proliferation of self-censorship and gagging clauses in service contracts" (Molano-Avilon, 2017: 137) which have restricted the voicing of concerns. The role of VCSOs as advocates, as "conduits for free expression and social change" (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004: 136), has been stymied. VCSOs reliant on contracts face "pressures to withhold criticism and to campaign with gloves on" (Milbourne & Murray, 2017b: 202) and so drift from advocacy to service delivery activities (Maier et al, 2016). This all suggests "the need for a new or renewed democratic counterdiscourse" (Eikenberry, 2009: 589) for and by VCSOs. Paid staff and volunteers must reawaken their resistance and act as dissenting actors within the public sphere (Milbourne & Murray, 2017b; Molano-Avilon, 2017), CBPR a means to achieve this.

I have contended that in both universities and VCSOs, democratic ways of being and doing in CBPR offer a counter to normative neoliberal identities. As individuals will likely initially approach CBPR from the position of normative identities, it suggests that some measure of 'unbecoming' will be required if they are to adapt to CBPR's counter-normative ways of being and doing. It is to these ways that I now turn.

2.9 Identity and roles within CBPR

Through the social arenas and associated pedagogical spaces that it generates, CBPR provides a specific context and set of social relationships that disrupt professional identities. Disruption may, as I explain in Chapter Three, result in 'specialised identities' (Bernstein, 2001) – identities that enable individuals to act meaningfully and authentically within CBPR. The transformative impacts of collaboration and learning on identities, ones that unsettle, unnerve, and that provoke a re-authoring of self, indicate a requirement for leadership and other roles sensitive to these dynamics.

As Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis (2016b: 29) contend, "practices are informed by our identities but our identities are also shaped by our practices". Collaborative practice necessitates reflection on who you are being in certain situations and, what others need from you rather than what you prefer to offer (ibid). This is an important rejoinder to those academics that approach CBPR solely on the basis of the expertise they feel they can offer, rather than exploring what it is the community really wants.

Martikke et al (2015) found evidence that partnership working between academics and communities affects how participants identify themselves. They noted it common for engaged academics to "cast themselves as almost radical, subversive and, in effect, isolated from their non-engaged peers" (ibid: 48) – a counter-hegemonic positioning. Alternatively, community partners did not view themselves as 'mavericks', their involvement aligning with sanctioned organisational missions (ibid).

In Chapter Three I consider in detail the concept of pedagogical spaces within CBPR but for now, note that such spaces are "liminal" (Land et al, 2014: 201) and transformative, enabling individuals to explore emergent identities, learning and reflecting on their, and others', roles. As Facer & Enright (2016) posit, in bridging the university-community divide, and in being confronted with the 'other', researchers fundamentally question, unsettle, and then remake their identities.

Identity is therefore a "learning trajectory" (Leibowitz et al, 2014: 1264), unique to individuals as they participate in the collaborative process. Through both a self-

awareness that allows for letting go of older, prevailing views and a willingness to embrace the discomfort that this may bring, an individual may "re-author the self" (Land et al, 2014: 201). Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis (2016c: 9) refer to this as "bicameral orientation", where you are committed to your identity but maintain openness to its limitations and therefore, possess willingness to legitimate others' and to change. It is a way of being wherein you are sensitive and responsive to different ways of thinking about and viewing the world (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011).

Being confronted by out-group identities within collaboration is the usual driver for re-examination of self, recognition that you are defined by what you are not as much as by what you are (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016c). This element of the foreign in identity construction may result in an uncomfortable 'unbecoming'. Indeed, Facer & Enright (2016) posit that if a university-community collaboration is feeling too easy, then you are probably not doing it right. Such collaboration should "require all project participants to address fundamental questions about their expertise and their identities as community members, and as researchers" (ibid: 58).

Within CBPR, identity work may see participants temporarily inhabit others' perspectives whilst retaining their own professional identities. More radically, they may create hybrid identities, leaving behind their previous for new in a process that "can bring emotional and intellectual difficulties" (Facer & Enright, 2016: 71). With reference the unity / diversity paradox within collaborations (cross-reference Section 2.3.1), a hybrid identity would help unify a collaboration whilst maintenance of an originating professional identity would emphasise the distinctive contribution that a partner brings. Reconciling identity tensions as a collaboration evolves is therefore important, a reconciliation that is the responsibility of collaborative leaders.

2.9.1 Roles within CBPR

I suggest that leadership within CBPR takes the form of collaborative leadership, defined as:

> A political and democratic practice that provides direction, energy and critical engagement on issues that are made to matter, by bringing together diverse groups of people with the intent of achieving something they cannot achieve alone.
>
> (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016a: 13)

Collaborative leadership is an informal democratic practice, one that recognises the polyphony lying in the voices of stakeholders, "valuing juxtaposing and pluralistic viewpoints in creating new meanings and possibilities" (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011: 1436).

As in Section 2.4, the relationship between academics and community within CBPR pedagogical spaces can be conceptualised as one of 'masters' and 'apprentices' within a shared community of inquiry, where the former facilitates the learning of the latter. The master role – essentially, I propose, that of collaborative leader – alternates between academic and community throughout the research process. Whomever is leading at any given stage faces the challenge of directing a group, over whom they have no hierarchical responsibility, to explore the unknown, giving them "space to express themselves and to feel secure in doing so" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016d: 17). That security relies on the leader building and nurturing personal relationships of trust. They must also balance the unity / diversity tension through helping partners to "shape a unifying identity for the collaboration while highlighting the unique contribution of partner organisations" (Bryson et al, 2015: 654).

Being able to "collectively pursue a questioning approach is the hallmark of a healthy, participative and collaborative leadership" (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016d: 24), and so leaders must facilitate spaces where people feel free to explore. Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis (2016c) propose five other actions to build collaborative capacity:

1. **Allowing time and space for people to express themselves** – Here, informal time for people to share their perspectives and life experiences is as important

as formal project communication processes;

2. **Introducing some collective decision-making** – Non-hierarchical relationships are required for such decision-making, and leaders should avoid framing decisions in advance;

3. **Introducing a more participative approach to discussion and decisions** – Deliberative practices that allow people to come together to shape how an issue is perceived and how it should be tackled are fundamental to gaining the best possible decisions;

4. **Paying attention to silence** – Collaborative leaders must note when people are routinely silent and ensure a mix of formal and informal contexts so that voices are heard;

5. **Avoiding domination of functional thinking** – It is tempting to run with the set expertise of individuals, but collaborative leadership requires an openness to valuable and fresh perspectives from outside individuals' expertise.

Aside from the role of collaborative leader, Stoecker (2003) posits three additional roles that academics commonly adopt in CBPR:

1. **The Initiator** – Where the academic initiates contact with the community, using their time, skill, and commitment to launch a research project;

2. **The Consultant** – Where the academic is commissioned by the community to carry out research and is accountable to them throughout the process;

3. **The Collaborator** – Where the academic combines their technical expertise with the community's knowledge of their own needs to co-produce new knowledge and understanding of mutual benefit.

In CBPR, academics should tackle research questions generated by the community, collaboratively. Yet in reality, "researchers usually initiate contact" (Stoecker, 2003: 100) as in the initiator role, and / or find themselves acting as consultants for communities that are already too overburdened to take on the research themselves. Initiator and consultant roles can be criticised for retaining the dichotomy between knowledge producers and consumers, the academy's 'cult of expertise' serving communities. As such, the roles are better suited to utilisation-focused research with the goal of system improvement. Conversely, the collaborator role suits 'gold standard' CBPR approaches, enabling communities to become knowledge producers themselves.

In approaching a CBPR project, academics should consider which of the three roles is best suited to the project in hand. In part, the community partner may guide this decision. For example, if the community wishes to participate fully, then the academic should adopt a collaborator role (Stoecker, 2003). It was the collaborator role that I envisaged when co-designing *Engage*; ideas were generated by VCSOs on the pretext that they would then collaborate with academics throughout the research process.

Finally, CBPR participants face issues of positionality. This concept describes identity "in terms of an insider-outsider perspective, based on the researchers' relationship to the specific research setting and community" (Muhammad et al, 2015: 1048). In reality, academics often enter communities as relative outsiders due to the privileged and powerful status of universities within wider society (Kerstetter, 2012). Conversely, communities are usually relative insiders due to their insight into the unique issues that they face (ibid).

The extent of an individual's status as either relative insider or outsider varies as to their ascribed and achieved characteristics and their interrelation within a given social arena. Characteristics such as race, gender, socioeconomic status, level of formal education, and more all affect positionality (Kerstetter, 2012). As explained earlier, this enquiry only attends to differences in positioning aligned to the differing power bases of broad professional social categories, as it is through these categories that participants partook in *Engage*. That is not to deny that other characteristics may have affected positionalities. Suffice to note that academics are usually outsiders in CBPR, viewed as

bringing “objectivity and legitimacy” (ibid: 114) to data collection and analysis whilst community partners are usually insiders, valued by academics for ensuring that research remains “relevant and representative” (ibid). As academics and communities collaborate, they should be cognisant of their status as either ‘outsider’ or ‘insider’ and how this impacts the research process (Muhammad et al, 2015).

Through this section I have considered how collaborative and pedagogic practices shape ways of being in CBPR. I have also explained common ways of doing, the import of collaborative leadership and the requirement for reflexivity to engender the learning that shapes identity construction and that enables individuals to act meaningfully and authentically within CBPR.

Having reviewed pertinent literature in relation to this enquiry, in the next chapter I outline its conceptual frameworks.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Frameworks

Theoretical sensitivity implies the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't.

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998, cited in Gray, 2009: 511)

3.0 Introduction

To shed light on this enquiry, I have chosen two conceptual frameworks, that link knowledge, democracy, and social justice through a focus on pedagogy, and that illustrate how identity can be constructed. The frameworks are therefore well suited to exploring how Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR), and pedagogic relations therein, impact the professional identities generative of social change.

The chief frames, ones applied to analysis of findings, are Bernstein's dual concepts of pedagogic rights (2000) and specialised identities (2001). Broadly conceived, pedagogic rights define what citizens are entitled to from education whilst specialised identities refer to identities that enable people to make sense of the world and to act on it in meaningful ways within a given community (Gewirtz, 2008).

Social relations are integral to CBPR. They are the focus of Bernstein's work which explores "the way social relations mediate and distribute access to knowledge in ways that provide access to some and not to others" (Wheelahan, 2010: 12). As a social realist (cross-reference Chapter Four, Section 4.1), Bernstein understands the world through boundaries, specifically the boundary between an objective world and our social constructions of it – the world 'as is' versus the way individuals experience it (Wheelahan, 2010).

In navigating boundaries between academy and community, CBPR generates unique social arenas – spaces – that allow "members to overcome inhibitions to take action" (Dodge & Ospina, 2016: 493) and so to effect social change. The notion of space

underpins a final frame for this enquiry – Burke et al's (2017) concept of 'pedagogical methodology'.

This concept constructs research as a form of pedagogy premised on providing parity of participation. It engenders pedagogical spaces in knowledge democracy that are collective, dialogical, participatory, and collaborative, and that shape sense of identity. These spaces may be counter-hegemonic, building the capacity of individuals and organisations to "evade, disrupt, oppose and restrain the oppression or the power that may be exercised by major social institutions in modern society" (Stehr, 2010: 21). CBPR can be conceived as a pedagogical methodology and the spaces between academy and community explored as such.

In sum, both Bernstein and Burke et al's conceptual frames explore the boundaries and spaces between academy and society and how, through pedagogic relations and knowledges, identities may be re/formed. The frames emphasise the social role that the distribution of knowledge plays in democracy and civil society. Both are pertinent to CBPR and to ways of knowing therein.

3.1 Ways of knowing in CBPR: The rise of praxis knowledge

CBPR provides a space where abstract (sacred) and everyday (profane) knowledges combine to produce praxis knowledge – knowledge arising from "theoretically engaged action" (Horner, 2016: 18). Combining abstract and everyday knowledges necessitates discussion and negotiation around the values, aims, and power relations within the research process (Darby, 2017). Eikeland (2012: 30) suggests that "deliberation-in-action" is therefore core to praxis, with deliberation focused on how to act in judicious ways towards collaborators in the here and now. He also contends crucial, critical dialogue between collaborators, which sifts and sorts, gathers, and separates how each other does things and that, "helps articulate what we carry with us as habituated tacit knowledge" (ibid: 29). This is also critical for pedagogical methodology (cross-reference Section 3.2).

Praxis engenders a move towards "reformed, committed action" (Cook, 2009: 283), to new constructions of knowing that lead to transformations in practice in a knowledge democracy. It helps us to "ask what might be thought and done otherwise" (Lather, 2006: 45), enabling us to work "through the stuck places of present practice" and to imagine anew. Within social arenas generated by CBPR, academics and community members are challenged to cross the boundary between abstract and everyday knowledges. Bernstein's theoretical tools provide a way to differentiate between these different kinds of knowledge as below (Stehr, 2010; Wheelahan, 2010):

	Abstract (sacred) knowledge	**Everyday (profane) knowledge**
Rationale for knowledge	To create knowledge of objects, which are under study. Knowledge is gained for its own sake.	Knowledge is gained for a specific purpose, an intentional, goal-oriented activity.
Conceptual orientation	Thinking *about* concepts.	Thinking *with* concepts.
Source of meaning	Disciplines.	Context.
Relation to context	Generalised, and portable from one context to another.	Strongly rooted to context.

Table 4: Distinctions between abstract and everyday knowledges

Participants within CBPR shuttle "between the sacred and profane" (Colley et al, 2007: 185). In so doing, academics face the uneasy pedagogical task of connecting their sacred disciplinary knowledge – their disciplinary community's ways of thinking and being – with everyday knowledge (Abbas & McLean, 2010; McLean et al, 2015). And community members must grapple with new concepts. Shuttling across boundaries involves individuals undertaking identity work to re/position themselves within or beyond different fields.

The production of praxis knowledge requires pedagogical relations between individuals. CBPR can be conceived a form of pedagogy, as now discussed.

3.2 CBPR as pedagogical methodology

Burke et al (2017: 52) present 'pedagogical methodology' as a framework for:

> Creating and opening up collaborative, collective, dialogical and participatory methodologies and spaces which, through the research process, engage participants in pedagogical relations.

Pedagogical methodologies eschew 'traditional' research's exclusion of the 'other'. Instead, they embrace parity of participation and emphasise that "all involved in research processes have the capacity to search for and contribute to meaning and knowledge" (Burke, 2018: 3). In this way, knowledge can become "a weapon of the 'weak'" (Stehr, 2010: 21) wielded in a knowledge democracy.

In embracing difference, pedagogical methodologies provide opportunities for in and out-groups to "talk about pedagogical experiences and expectations, pedagogical frustrations, and identity" (Burke et al, 2017: 52), the deliberation-in-action core to praxis knowledge. They can activate conscientização, enabling social justice pedagogies that re/shape pedagogical spaces and identities.

3.2.1 Exploring pedagogical spaces

Pedagogical methodologies develop 'pedagogical spaces' that attend "to the complex ways in which (iterative) processes shape our sensibilities of self and personhood through meaning-making" (Burke et al, 2017: 53). Through pedagogical relations within these spaces, identities are re/formed and participants develop new ways of knowing and understanding previously unavailable to them (Burke, 2018).

Bourke (2013: 508) refers to CBPR as a "collaborative space of possibility for bridging the divide between academia and society". In pooling together multiple perspectives,

views, experiences, and reflections, the space is "messy" (Cook, 2009: 278). This mess allows people to work with myriad ideas, to reject singular and / or accepted ways of viewing the world in favour of new ways of theorising, thinking, and seeing (ibid). O'Neill's (2008) concept of "potential" is relevant here. Potential lies within creativity fostered by "a negotiation of the gap between self and other" (ibid: 10). In that negotiation, ideas stay emergent, provisional, exploratory, and so imbued with creative potential (Land et al, 2014). Imaginative freedom comes to the fore.

O'Neill (2008) argues that in crossing the gap between 'self' and 'other', we better understand the lives of the 'other' and so, alter conceptions of our own lives. This type of insight is provoked within CBPR. Ultimately, such reflexivity, combined with products arising from the potential space, feed into cultural politics and praxis and "may help processes of social justice via a politics of recognition – as a counter to mis-recognition" (ibid: 18).

Co-learning within pedagogical spaces can provoke liminal spaces of learning for individuals through a 'threshold concepts' approach (Burns, 2012; Land et al, 2014). This approach advocates the idea that "certain concepts, practices or forms of learning experience can act as a portal, or learning threshold, through which a new perspective opens up for the learner" (Land et al, 2014: 200). CBPR may provide a conceptual gateway, permitting "new and previously inaccessible ways of thinking and practising" (ibid) – the activation of conscientização.

Liminality is drawn from "a particular kind of being betwixt and between social structures" (Burns, 2012: 265). Within pedagogical spaces, liminality entails crossing boundaries, organisational and / or conceptual, that facilitate transformative learning. Land et al (2014) contend that liminal states comprise the following progressive functions:

1. The learner encounters and integrates something new;
2. Subsequently, the learner recognises shortcomings in their existing view of the phenomenon in question;
3. The learner lets go of their older view;

4. The learner lets go of their earlier mode of subjectivity;
5. The learner envisages, and ultimately accepts, an alternative version of self.

Liminality within pedagogical spaces can result in no less than a "re-authoring of self" with the space "simultaneously transforming and being transformed by the learner" (Land et al, 2014: 201) as she passes through it. This is something that Burke et al (2017: 142) also recognise as, "frameworks of praxis and reflexivity are crucial to changing pedagogical spaces for greater equity and social justice".

In sum, liminality creates spaces (Burns, 2012; Cook, 2009; Land et al, 2014) that are:

- **Heterotopic:** where counter-hegemonic thinking arises;

- **Transformative:** where learners transition from earlier understandings or practices to new, shifting perceptions and subjectivities;

- **Uncomfortable:** where there is learning disjuncture, learners confronting concepts, practices or forms of learning that challenge prior views.

The co-learning that instigates liminality is a form of pedagogical relationality. Relationalities are foregrounded in pedagogical spaces and riven by power dynamics.

3.2.2 Power and pedagogical spaces

The relations constituting pedagogical spaces are complex, and are re/shaped through power as it moves across and between differently positioned participants (Burke et al, 2017). As discussed in Chapter Two, Section 2.3.3, power does not arise from any single source rather from multiple dynamics such as time, place, space, context, inequality, and identity. Pedagogical spaces are profoundly shaped by power relations arising from these multiple dynamics.

Participants within CBPR can be "positioned institutionally" (Burke et al, 2017: 50) as 'academics', 'charity workers' or 'volunteers' but equally, other positionings can be at

play. As Wallerstein & Duran (2008) caution, CBPR participants need to recognise and challenge unequal distributions of power and resources based on the likes of race, gender, sexual orientation, and class. Pedagogical relations between participants do not exist in a vacuum rather, are shaped by such disparities. Participants must be willing to examine "their own positions of power, whether by virtue of race or ethnicity, education, or community status" (ibid: 35) and negotiate these so that power dynamics are transformed. Theories of intersectionality are therefore important for exploring "the complicated and complicating ways that different differences interact and shift across various contingencies to shape all aspects of our lives, including our research imaginaries" (Lather, 2006: 50).

Embedded processes of relationality and power within pedagogical spaces ideally should generate communicative spaces for dialogue. Reflexive engagement about power relations creates more equitable, inclusive practices where people can express themselves genuinely and, through engaging "with each other as humans to understand each other's suffering" (Pearson et al, 2016: 67), find common ground. Learning about other people's experiences enables us to reflect on our own and by pooling knowledge, aids us better to understand context. As such, pedagogical spaces may raise our consciousness as to the 'bigger picture', "offering a critical distance from everyday work" (Banks et al, 2019: 39).

Helping us to critically reflect on our position in and of the world is core to social justice-oriented pedagogical spaces. Processes of reflexivity enable exploration of difference and work "with rather than against emotion" (Burke et al, 2017: 39). But social justice requires more than this in both the simultaneous recognition and valuing of "different experiences, histories, values and cultural practices" (ibid: 30) of heterogenous communities alongside the redistribution of resources to marginalised communities. So, pedagogical spaces may "create possibilities for refusal, resistance, and doing things differently" (Burke, 2018: 3), to re/imagining higher education as trans/formative and deeply connected to social justice.

Yet, as in Chapter Two, Section 2.5.2, CBPR may be co-opted by the neoliberal. Forms of symbolic violence may compel individuals to personhoods for and of the market, with

their practices focused on transformations of systems rather than life worlds. Thus, dominant economic imperatives can remain ascendant over social justice ones. As Burke et al (2017: 142) reflect, "the power of higher education is immeasurable and profound, but this power is often reproductive of, rather than disruptive to, social justice and inequalities".

In sum, pedagogical spaces generate "complex pedagogical relations that are linked to formations of difference and power in and across time and space" (Burke et al, 2017: 135). These formations may produce pedagogical relations that marginalise as much as include. So, pedagogical spaces may be experienced "as both reproductive of privilege and inequality as well as enabling, transformative and potentially counter-hegemonic" (ibid). By critically reflecting on our position in and of the world, and by considering whose knowledge is reified in any given pedagogical space, we may challenge the re/formation of inequalities in spaces. Such reflexive work must be core to CBPR if its social justice ideals are to be realised.

I now turn to Bernstein's pedagogic rights that, in defining what citizens are entitled to from education, are rooted in knowledge democracy.

3.3 Pedagogic rights

Bernstein (2000) advances two key conditions for an effective knowledge democracy. The first is that "people must feel that they have a stake in society" (ibid: xx), concerned with both giving and receiving things, as in CBPR. The second is that "people must have confidence that the political arrangements they create will realise this stake or give grounds if they do not" (ibid). Within CBPR, this translates to participants having confidence that practice will effect change.

For these conditions to flourish, Bernstein (2000) forwards three interrelated rights – so-called 'pedagogic rights' – that must be institutionalised. These rights are concerned with the extent that education either frees people to think and do or conversely, constrains what it seems possible to think and do (McLean et al, 2015). Individuals'

access to pedagogic rights correlates to the extent of the stake they feel they have in society; greater access results in greater stake (ibid).

Bernstein (2000: xxi) proposes that pedagogic rights occur at different levels and result in particular 'conditions' (freedoms to be and do what you value):

Pedagogic rights	Conditions	Levels
Enhancement	Confidence	Individual
Inclusion	Communitas	Social
Participation	Civic discourse	Political

Table 5: Bernstein's three pedagogic rights

The right to individual enhancement is "the right to the means of critical understanding and to new possibilities" where boundaries (whether personal, social or intellectual) are experienced as "tension points condensing the past *and* opening possible futures" (Bernstein, 2000: xx). The right represents opportunity for personal growth, for individuals to open their minds about themselves, others, and society (McLean et al, 2015).

Within CBPR, crossing the boundary between academy and community may result in tension points within transformative pedagogical spaces, points of learning disjuncture that shift subjectivities. The right of enhancement also aligns with Freire's concept of conscientização, integral to emancipatory CBPR practice. Bernstein states that, "enhancement entails a discipline" (2000: xx), with the discursive gap between sacred and profane enabling individuals to view things differently (McLean et al, 2015; Stehr, 2010). Through CBPR's embrace of abstract and everyday knowledges, it catalyses such discursive gaps.

The right of enhancement is, as Bernstein (2000: xx) posits, the condition for personal confidence. Confidence is crucial to the ability to act, to employ knowledge to make a difference (Stehr, 2010). Given CBPR's social change orientation and the underlying forms of action and participation, confidence is fundamental. If individuals do not feel confident, their ability to act is hindered.

The right of enhancement at the individual level parallels the individual, micro-level of social impact identified by Beckett et al (2018) and discussed in Chapter Two, Section 2.2. Common impacts at this level include, "being heard, gaining confidence, networks and skills and increased engagement with future research" (ibid: 9). The impacts vary according to the type of individual involved – i.e. whether practitioner or academic.

The second right of social inclusion is "the right to be included, socially, intellectually, culturally and personally" (Bernstein, 2000: xx). Bernstein elaborates that inclusion is *not* absorption, that the right to be included necessitates a right to autonomy (ibid). So, within a CBPR project, people face balancing a unity / diversity tension, maintaining their own distinct views and knowledges whilst also creating praxis knowledge through merging views and knowledges.

The condition gained from the right of social inclusion is 'communitas' that can be defined as "a feeling of solidarity and togetherness among equal members of a community" (McLean et al, 2015: 191). Communitas can characterise "people who experience liminality or periods of transition together" (ibid), as in CBPR. And a sense of belonging may arise from the collective action that CBPR communities take, especially when challenging the status quo.

Here, the right of social inclusion parallels the group, micro-level of social impact in Beckett et al's (2018) model, one focusing on relationships between academics and practitioners. At this level, there is "improved understanding and acceptance of each other's worlds and lived experience" (ibid: 9) alongside increased trust and willingness to work together and a sense that through group interactions and the sharing of stories, people "feel less alone" (ibid).

The third pedagogic right is the right to participate "in the construction, maintenance and transformation of order" (Bernstein, 2000: xxi). Bernstein is clear that participation is not just about discussion and debate but also, about transformative practices that have impact in a knowledge democracy (ibid). This right links to Bernstein's contention that people must feel they have a stake in society, that they can contribute to improving social worlds (McLean et al, 2015). Participation is the condition for civic practice, where individuals operate as active citizens through civic discussion and action (Bernstein, 2000).

The right chimes with the democratic, social change, and praxis orientations of CBPR. It also parallels the organisational (meso), societal, and paradigmatic (macro) levels of social impact in Beckett et al's (2018) model. At meso-level, individuals build organisational capacity through sharing knowledge and skills or through enhanced organisational confidence in research and practice, resulting in practice or policy changes that impact stakeholders (ibid: 9). At macro-levels, individuals influence wide-scale policy changes, support new conceptual approaches or, through co-production, challenge the cultural hegemony of powerful groups (ibid).

I make three concluding observations with relation the pedagogic rights. The first is that the right to enhancement underpins the right to inclusion, which underpins the right to participation. Without enhancement at the individual level and the associated confidence to act, the subsequent two rights cannot be realised. Agency and communion are interdependent.

Secondly, the pedagogic rights' contribution to knowledge democracy align to Park's (2001, cited in Wallerstein & Duran, 2003) three dimensions of emancipation – competence, connection, and confidence (cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.1). Here, the power of confidence is crucial to the right of enhancement, connection to inclusion, and competence to participation. This illustrates the emancipatory nature of the rights. However, as Dodge & Ospina (2016) consul, the link between civic behaviours and political engagement can be tenuous; individuals may act civically without challenging dominant policies or structures.

Thirdly, inspired by a recent report by Aesop & BOP Consulting (2018), I contend that the pedagogic rights may behave as 'active ingredients' within CBPR, enabling it to achieve outcomes in the social world. The report examined how arts interventions produce social outcomes and hypothesised that "there is something particular – some property, some dynamic – in the arts experience itself which enables certain outcomes to occur and which are inseparable from the experience" (ibid: 4), properties the report terms 'active ingredients'. I shall return to the applicability or otherwise of such an analogy to the pedagogic rights in Chapter Six.

Conditions arising from access to the three pedagogic rights may constitute 'specialised identities' (Bernstein, 2001) which bring benefit to society as individuals are enabled through them to make sense of the world and to act on it in meaningful ways.

3.4 Specialised identities

In furthering discussion about the sociology of pedagogy, Bernstein (2001) forwards growing evidence of a Totally Pedagogised Society (TPS). He argues that the world of work is translating pedagogically into lifelong learning; for example, "family units become parenting skills" (ibid: 365). Given the rise of TPS, individuals have developed "the ability to be taught, the ability to respond effectively to concurrent, subsequent, or intermittent pedagogies" (ibid: 366). These abilities enable individuals to adapt to structural changes, as organisations, markets, and technologies evolve.

This survival also depends upon capacity for individuals to project themselves "*meaningfully* rather than relevantly or instrumentally into the future" (Bernstein, 2001: 366). Projection is an outward-looking state where the individual is subject to external influences, and the capacity for meaningfulness is an outcome of a specialised identity (Bernstein, 2001; Moore, 2001).

In engaging with the external world and with the market, specialised identities are professional rather than disciplinary (Moore, 2001). In their projection, such identities are necessarily hybrid (Clegg, 2008). As they emerge from forms of projection, porous

institutional boundaries are required, and individuals must be free to imagine themselves in new ways (ibid).

Bernstein suggests that specialised identities:

> … arise out of a particular social order, through relations which the identity enters into with other identities of reciprocal recognition, support, and legitimation, and finally through a negotiated collective purpose.
>
> (Bernstein, 2001: 366)

Here, he argues that identities are formed through social processes. Such a communitarian view positions identity as embedded, sustained, and nurtured by communities of practice (Gewirtz, 2008; Moore, 2001). A specialised identity does not arise out of an individual's 'solitary' efforts at self-improvement but from her interactions as part of a collective (Gewirtz, 2008). It is these interactions, these relationships and practices that are characteristic of a new identity (Moore, 2001).

I contend that CBPR offers a community from which specialised identities arise. From the relational dialectics between participants, the collective efforts aimed at co-learning and social change, and the porosity of boundaries between institutions, the ground is ripe for specialised identities across professional social categories. Indeed, in my pilot study (Stevens, 2017), I found academics adopted specialised identities that enabled their meaningful operation within *Engage*. The main components of this identity with relation to Archer's (2008a) three ways of 'feeling' professional (cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.6) are highlighted in Table (6).

I found the identity hybrid, with academics challenging the 'traditional' academic ways of 'being', 'having', and 'doing' that comprised their originating professional identities (Stevens, 2017). The specialised identity was in part legitimised through interactions with the community. It enabled the academics to act in meaningful ways within CBPR pedagogical spaces and to make new sense of the world.

A specialised academic identity		
Being	**Having**	**Doing**
• Adopting a relational dialectics approach • Embracing difference and creativity • Valuing the 'alternative' CBPR approach and its underlying epistemology • Helping others – social justice orientation	• Possessing both academic & practitioner knowledge • 'Unbecoming' academic • Having expertise about the 'sacred' and learning about the 'profane' • Legitimising the CBPR approach • Willingness to take risks, to get outside of comfort zone • Co-learning • Reflexive awareness	• Meaningful projection and meaningful collaboration, focused on the local • Praxis orientation, with projection for democratising and social justice goals • Working towards a negotiated, collective purpose • Interest in the CBPR approach as much as research outcomes

Table 6: Components of a specialised academic identity

CBPR pedagogy is underpinned by an epistemology that values not just the cognitive but, the affective and practical. So, the specialised academic identity also included diverse social and interpersonal skills where "the person of the researcher is the most critical instrument" (Hall et al, 2016: 28).

Before concluding this chapter, I consider three additional Bernsteinian concepts – code, classification, and framing – that impact pedagogic rights and specialised identities.

3.5 Code, classification, and framing: Impacting identities

The concept of 'code' is central to Bernstein's theory for it "shapes what individuals and groups think and feel about what it is (im)possible to be and do" (McLean et al, 2015: 184). Knowledge is differentially distributed amongst groups and individuals through formal and informal educational practices, CBPR an example of the latter. Codes operate at the boundaries of inner and outer worlds, either constraining or enabling relationships between the worlds and subsequently, constraining or enabling possibilities for living (ibid). Code is integral to pedagogic rights and to specialised identities, through the capacity for projection and to imagine oneself in new ways.

Codes are conveyed by classification and framing, components that are "concerned with the organisation of knowledge and the control of knowledge" (Burke et al, 2017: 33). Classification reflects power relations in society by "establishing boundaries between categories (agents, agencies, discourses, practices) in terms of how strongly insulated they are from each other" (McLean et al, 2015: 184).

Bernstein (2000) contends that 'voice' is integral to classificatory relations. Power relations between categories regulate 'voice', what can "be said and its context" (ibid: 204). Stronger classification between categories therefore impacts upon power relations between identities, giving "hierarchical relationships to the things being classified" (Little et al, 2016: 204). For example, a didactic teaching style involves strong classification between teacher and student, reifying the teacher's 'voice' over student.

Stronger classification also infers distinct demarcation between categories, allowing subjects to infer 'recognition rules' (Burke et al, 2017). Access to these rules helps subjects make sense of context; the "weaker the classification the more nebulous and ambiguous are the possibilities for recognition" (ibid: 33). This may render the subject silent. Even if the subject recognises the context, they may not possess the 'realisation rules' to engage (ibid: 34). These rules concern the selection and production of meaning and whether a subject can show 'correct' performance in context – whether they can 'talk the talk'.

Framing focuses not on 'voice' but on 'message', on "*what* was said and *the form* of its contextual realisation" (Bernstein, 2000: 204). Framing exists within classified categories and "relays principles of control" (McLean et al, 2015: 184). For example, within a didactic teaching situation, the framing between teacher and student is strong and so potential for variation in message, weak; the message is conveyed to student through practices the teacher chooses, and with little to no room for interpretation or challenge (Little et al, 2016).

Bernstein (2000) notes that message may change voice. Changes to framing relations within categories can challenge the power relations imposing or enabling the classificatory relations (ibid). Again, within a teacher-student dynamic, if the relationship moves from a didactic to discursive approach – i.e. framing is weakened – classificatory boundaries between teacher and student also weaken. As Bernstein (ibid: 204) surmises, "variations in the distribution of power (classifications) and variations in the principles of control (framings) impose or enable variations in the formation of identities and their change".

So, identities are impacted by codes, classifications, and framings. As Little et al (2016: 204) contend, "when codes, classifications and / or framings are weak, identities are less secure, more complex and change is more likely". Translating this insight to CBPR, I suggest it is weakly classified and framed as an approach. Weak in classification through shuttling between sacred and profane and through equal power relations between academics and practitioners, weak in framing through synthesising academic and practitioner knowledge, co-learning practices, and alternations in master / apprentice roles. CBPR's weak classification and framing may leave participants struggling with recognition and realisation rules, confused by context and how to act in it. This may disrupt professional identities, with specialised identities arising that help individuals to interact meaningfully within CBPR.

In conclusion, this enquiry conceives CBPR as a pedagogical methodology, comprised of spaces that transform identities. Bernsteinian concepts of pedagogic rights and specialised identities will be deployed as frames to analyse data and to reveal how

pedagogical relations enable or constrain individuals to imagine themselves in new ways and to effect social change.

Having 'set-the-scene' across Chapters One to Three, I now focus in Chapter Four on the methodology and methods employed to gather and analyse data.

Chapter Four: Methodology

All research is undertaken by somebody somewhere. There is no 'all-conquering gaze from nowhere'.

(Genat, 2009: 108)

4.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses my enquiry's methodology and methods. I start by describing my philosophical stance (social realism) and then outline my research design (a qualitative case study of a Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) programme – *Engage* – explored through narrative inquiry). Subsequently, I detail my sample before discussing and justifying the qualitative methods I used (memory stories, visual artefacts, identity exercises, and semi-structured interviews). I then address ethical considerations and conclude by explaining how I analysed data.

The goals of this chapter are twofold. Firstly, to demonstrate that my research design, the data collection and analysis processes that I deploy, has produced credible, trustworthy data that authentically represents the different viewpoints of research participants (Bryman, 2012; Lather, 1986). Secondly, to illustrate that my methodology is fit-for-purpose, that my methods and analysis are consistent with both the enquiry's purpose and my philosophical stance, which I now detail.

4.1 My philosophical stance: Social realism

This section is concerned with my understanding of ways of being and knowing in the social world. Such understanding is crucial for it shapes research design. As Sayer (1992: 4) argues, "methods must be appropriate to the nature of the object we study and the purpose and expectations of our inquiry".

Social research is commonly undertaken to understand something going on in society that remains to an extent unresolved (Bryman, 2012). A basic motivation of critical social science research is to "contribute to an awareness of what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of which people may be able to make and remake their lives" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 4). So, this enquiry's attempt to understand the social arenas generated by CBPR, how they produce outcomes in social worlds through professional identities that shape, and are shaped by, these arenas. As the enquiry is based in and on the social world where meanings are multiple and transient, its findings mark but a moment in time.

The philosophical stance for this enquiry is social realism, an approach that concerns a specific understanding of agency / structure relations. 'Social' refers to the concept that "all knowledge is socially produced by communities of knowledge producers" (Wheelahan, 2010: 7), thereby eschewing positivist notions of timeless, universal truths. Such notions fail to 'capture' the complexity of the social world, the reasons *why* people act as they do (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Taylor, 2001). People possess minds and feelings and respond to specific situations as they perceive them. Accounts of social phenomena and situations therefore reflect a diversity of viewpoints, mitigating a neutral single truth (Taylor, 2001).

'Realism' suggests that the knowledge "is about an objective world, one that exists independently of our social constructions of it" (Wheelahan, 2010: 8), countering interpretivist notions of multiple worlds constructed through agency. That an objective world exists beyond the construct of our minds or discourse is not to say that our conceptions of that world are unimportant, particularly in shaping social relations. As Wheelahan (ibid: 145) surmises:

> Knowledge is continually revised as we engage with the world using knowledge that others have created before us, and in that process we change it and often change the world, or some aspect of it.

Denying that reality exists outside an individual's conception of it is to deny the existence of other people's conceptions of reality, with those marginalised in society

most compromised (Scott, 2005). Interpretivism assumes an infinite number of ways of classifying and dividing up the world but that does not imply that the world is divided up an infinite number of ways; multiple realities may not translate into multiple implementations (ibid).

Given my understanding of CBPR as involving interacting social worlds inhabited by professional social categories, a social realist stance is apposite. I eschew fixed, essentialist notions of identity in favour of social theories of identity as "constructed within the context of social institutions and relationships" (Henkel, 2005: 156), as a function of both external definition by others and internal self-definition (Clarke et al, 2013; Henkel, 2005; Leibowitz et al, 2014; Olesen, 2001; Ranson & Stewart, 1998).

Often, identity is framed as a "successful accordance between a coherent individual and a social reality" (Olesen, 2001: 294) but actually, it arises from dynamic and conflictual interactions between complex agencies and structures. Tensions between agency and structure are common, with identity shaped by "what surrounds a person, what others expect from the person, and what the person allows to impact on him or her" (Clarke et al, 2013: 10). Identity is therefore an active process. It moves with practices and languages that we adopt and, as Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis (2016b: 19) argue, is best thought of as "identity work".

Sayer (1992: 5) notes that the social world is "differentiated and stratified, consisting not only of events, but objects, including structures, which have powers and liabilities capable of generating events". As such, empirical research observes objects and events, understanding them through human interpretation (Costas-Batlle, 2017). The role of the social scientist is to be critical of these objects and events, evaluating them from their own frames of meaning whilst recognising that by and large, they exist regardless of interpretation (Sayer, 1992).

Crucially, objects and events are produced through causal mechanisms, intangible forces – 'theories' rather than physical 'things' (Costas-Batlle, 2017). In this enquiry, it is at the empirical level that I will collect the experiences of participants (charity workers, academics, and volunteers). Specifically, I am interested in how professional identities

evolve through pedagogical relations in CBPR (i.e. events). These events I conceive as occurring in 'pedagogical spaces' (Burke et al, 2017). To explain why they happen requires exploration of causal mechanisms. My use of a Bernsteinian conceptual lens, of both 'pedagogic rights' and 'specialised identities' (Bernstein, 2000 & 2001), is core to this endeavour.

I have offered my understanding of ways of being and knowing in the social world. Over the next section, I present a research design that aligns with my social realist view.

4.2 Research design: Case study methodology and narrative inquiry

To address my research aim and objectives (cross-reference Section 4.4), I designed an enquiry to capture the learning and identity experiences ('events') of participants in CBPR. The research had to be feasible in light of the constraints I faced as a part-time EdD student, primarily ones of time (I undertook my enquiry alongside a full-time job), and money (I was self-financed).

For ease and convenience, I decided on a case study of *Engage*, a programme of five CBPR projects that I had co-led and co-designed as part of my professional role at a university. Through this choice, I possessed ready access to case study sources – participants and programme documentation – to explore through a narrative approach.

4.2.1 Case study methodology

Case studies are strongly associated with qualitative research, with understanding the 'how' and 'why' in research, as they generate multiple perspectives through which to build rich, in-depth understandings of context (Elliott, 2005; Gray, 2009; Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001). Diverse perspectives enable engagement with complexity, reaching beyond simple explanation of a situation to explore causal relationships (Gray, 2009).

As case studies elicit multiple perspectives, it is wise to approach them deductively rather than inductively, directing data collection and analysis processes from a specific theoretical position (Gray, 2009). This prevents being overwhelmed by data. I used

Bernstein's concepts of pedagogic rights and specialised identities as theoretical frames for data analysis but did also remain open to the inductive for, as Hodkinson & Hodkinson (2001: 7) argue, "existing theories can be brought up against complex realities, and the very richness of the data can help generate new thinking and new ideas".

The case study design I adopted was a single case, embedded design (Yin, 2003). Within a single case study, there may be different "units of analysis" (Gray, 2009: 252). In this enquiry, the principal units of analysis were *Engage's* five CBPR projects. From these, I sourced smaller units to shed light on the experiences of three professional social categories, namely:

- The perspectives of academics
- The perspectives of charity workers
- The perspectives of volunteers

I also drew on programme-level documentation to add context.

A common critique of case studies is that they are not generalisable and therefore, less valid. Yet such critiques draw on a concept of validity developed in a positivist paradigm, a paradigm that, as I have explained in Section 4.1, is inadequate in the face of the complexities of human experience (Gray, 2009; Lather, 1986). Concepts of validity that are "grounded in the philosophical assumptions of logical positivism are not appropriate for paradigms based on epistemic indeterminacy" (Lather, 2006: 52) as in the case of this enquiry, My social realist stance assumes that knowledge cannot be absolute, that we can "never be absolutely certain about the truth of any account, since we have no completely incontrovertible way of gaining direct access to the reality on which it is based" (Bryman, 2012: 396). And I eschew the positivist insistence upon researcher neutrality and objectivity (Lather, 1986), given my role as an insider researcher (cross-reference Section 4.5.1)

What then for validity in qualitative research such as this? As Lather (1993: 674) contends, we must look to "open-ended and context sensitive validity criteria" that "de-

centre validity as about epistemological guarantees" and that produce counter-discourses that "reframe validity as multiple, partial, endlessly deferred". No single recipe for validity, for establishing the credibility of data, therefore exists. Rather, we should look to research designs that involve practices that establish the trustworthiness of data and that guard against researcher biases through a push towards self-awareness (Gray, 2009; Lather, 1986).

Now to apply such a frame to a critique of *Engage* as a non-generalisable case study. I am content not to claim that my case study is typical; I do not think of it as a sample of one (Bryman, 2012; Elliott, 2005; Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001). *Engage* was a unique programme tied to an organisational context, whose projects generated their own distinct social arenas. My intention was to intensively explore the case and to test Bernsteinian concepts against it in order to generate new thinking. It could be that that thinking has validity beyond *Engage* but ultimately, I leave it to the reader to decide as to the transferability or otherwise of this enquiry's findings (Elliott, 2005; Genat, 2009).

4.2.2 Narrative inquiry

To explore *Engage*, I chose a narrative approach. Narratives help people to understand their social world, serving to convey the meaning of events from the perspectives of those involved (Elliott, 2005; Fitzmaurice, 2013). As proposed by Hinchman & Hinchman (1997: xvi cited in Elliott, 2005: 3):

> Narratives (stories) in the human sciences should be defined provisionally as discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offer insights about the world and / or people's experiences of it.

Herein, three key features of narratives – they are: chronological; meaningful; and inherently social as they are produced for a specific audience (in this enquiry, for me) (Elliott, 2005).

As narrative approaches begin with people's lived experiences, they are particularly suited to smaller numbers of individuals and to exploring processes of identity construction (Churchman & King, 2009; Fitzmaurice, 2013). Within such approaches, identity is perceived as relational, shifting, and multiple. Such a view "leads to the study of professional identity as a specific, contextualised identity which is amenable to study through narratives" (Alexander, 2016: 2).

Narratives are generally memories of one sort or another, and "explore individual or institutional histories and personal or collective perceptions of the past, and hence how professional and institutional identities are constructed" (Cortazzi & Jin, 2006: 28). Through narratives, individuals negotiate, constitute, communicate, and maintain their identities within the present and into the future (Alexander, 2016; Eaves, 2014; Wang, 2016). Narratives also provide "a means to understand more about the broader culture shared by a community of individuals" (Elliott, 2005: 28). For this enquiry, I sought insight about communities within professional social categories.

Narrative research processes are common in education for they enable participants to tell stories of learning that generate a sense of identity (Byrne, 2017; Cortazzi & Jin, 2006). Such stories aid participants to reflect and to develop self-awareness and self-knowledge (Wang, 2016). The use of metaphorical language to express and reflect on learning experiences enhances insight for it allows "a felt sense into words" (ibid: 51), allowing individuals to share feelings, thoughts, and implicit knowledge about their own learning. In the past, narratives have been critiqued for tending not to invite disputation (Sayer, 1992); their reflexive use counters such critique.

As common in qualitative research, narrative approaches include researchers' *and* participants' voices (Byrne, 2017). Narratives emerge through "interactionist approaches" (Alexander, 2016: 2) between researcher (the recipient of the story) and participant (the teller). Storytelling requires a, "'conversational space' to tell a story to another person" (Elliott, 2005: 10) so as minimum, the participant requires the co-operation of the researcher as a conversational partner (Etherington, 2006). Beyond the story itself, there may be "collaborative reflection" (Wang, 2016: 41) between researcher and participant.

Given the role of researchers in narrative construction, Mannay (2016: 12) refers to "participatory productions" where the researcher acts as a "participatory facilitator" (ibid), generating knowledge intersubjectively in a creative process of meaning making. Data collection processes become data production ones, with researchers activating narrative production (Elliott, 2005). I adopted such processes, aiming for a participatory turn. Thus, for this enquiry I refer to 'participants', not 'subjects'.

Narrative approaches commonly involve written texts, but narrative interviewing can take the form of visual art (Wang, 2016). Artistic expression is "an effective means of capturing the particularity and universality of a person's experience" (ibid: 40). Self is important to both the production and consummatory experience of art and, "art can induce emotion, challenge understanding and be disrupting and even disconcerting, serving to redefine how we make assumptions and potentially catalysing transformative change" (Eaves, 2014: 147). For this enquiry, I adopted an arts-informed strategy, one employing visual art for inspiration (ibid).

There are two main strands to visual research in the social sciences – the first where the researcher creates images to document or analyse aspects of the social world and the second, where the researcher collects and studies, images produced by participants (Banks, 2007). I took the latter route (cross-reference Section 4.4.2), hoping that images produced might "reveal some sociological insight that is not accessible by any other means" (ibid: 4). Images evoke deeper elements of consciousness than words, moving beyond the confines of discursive communication (Eaves, 2014; Mannay, 2016) and for those who lack cognitive ability to verbally reflect on their experiences, the visual helpfully presents experiential knowledge (Wang, 2016). In this way, visual methodologies unleash inside perspectives, enabling individuals to connect their own personal narratives with their external world (Cortazzi & Jin, 2006; Wang, 2016).

When analysing images, Banks (2007: 14) distinguishes between "internal narrative and external narrative". The former refers to what an image denotes, the latter to what it connotes. Eliciting connotation requires some form of collaborative reflection between researcher and participant (ibid). In discussing an image with a participant,

words combine with image to: support reflexivity and enhance understanding; enable identity construction and reconstruction; evoke memory; and release tacit practice knowledge (Eaves, 2014; Mannay, 2016; Wang, 2016). This aids the participant to engage "intuitively and rationally (and emotionally and intellectually) in the reflective and creative process of meaning making" (Wang, 2016: 54). And it evokes in the researcher an "emphatic understanding of the ways in which other people experience their worlds" (Mannay, 2016: 45). I was aware that this enquiry was chiefly of benefit to my professional development. I therefore felt it important that participants gained some benefit from their involvement, chiefly through insight and meaning making opportunities (Bridges, 2006).

The use of narrative and arts-informed strategies in this enquiry enhanced the credibility of my data in several ways. In unleashing the particularity of participants' lived experiences and perspectives, the strategies boosted the relevance of the data, ensuring that participants' concerns were represented (Bryman, 2012). Collaborative reflections enhanced what Lather (1986: 67) terms "face validity", providing an opportunity to check whether I had correctly understood the participants' intended connotations behind stories and visual artefacts. Such reflection also enhanced "catalytic validity" (Bryman, 2012; Lather, 1986) that is, participants developed a better understanding of their social world and their ability to transform it. Participation led to insights, to enhanced self-understanding. For example, through collaborative reflection a volunteer came to view how a negative perception of their age had initially delimited their role in their CBPR project and they vowed to be wary of such perceptions in the future. And a charity worker who initially felt they had learned little from the process 'stumbled' across swathes of learning as they told their story, it acting as an epiphany for all they had achieved and could achieve into the future.

I have presented my research design, one built upon the foundations of my philosophical stance and oriented towards my research aim. Across the following two sections, I provide particulars of my sample and data production methods.

4.3 Sample

In this section, I provide further details on my case study including an overview of the CBPR projects comprising *Engage* and the participants involved. I provide justification as to how I selected my sample. All names are pseudonyms.

4.3.1 The *Engage* programme

Engage was co-conceived and co-led by myself (at the time a professional services member of staff working in engagement for a public research-intensive university in the United Kingdom) and by Fran, Chief Executive of Community Connect, an exempt charity. Community Connect had previously designed and delivered community researcher training to over 400 people living in deprived communities, upskilling them in research skills so that they might facilitate change in their communities. However, Community Connect had not drawn on CBPR approaches in their work or partnered with universities. Fran and I were therefore intrigued by the potential for collaboration.

Through *Engage*, we funded five CBPR projects across the locality, sourcing research ideas from VCSOs (who could apply for up to £3,000 each for their projects) and matching them with interested academics. Our bias was towards supporting smaller organisations frequently neglected by funders. We recognised that, as distinct social arenas, projects' stakeholders would draw on different ideologies, histories, and local contexts and so expected that the projects would employ, in varying ways, dimensions and skills from across Northern and Southern traditions of participatory research. But it was my hope that the participatory nature of *Engage* would enable critical reflection and consciousness amongst participants, enabling marginalised communities to challenge the status quo, a la 'gold standard' CBPR.

We conceived *Engage* as a learning opportunity for all involved and structured into it a range of non-formal training opportunities and events to support participants – whether academics or community members – to develop practical research skills and to reflect on their collaborative experiences (Appendix One). We recognised that in

addition to these non-formal opportunities, participants would learn informally from one another through the CBPR projects themselves. Such informal pedagogic relations were a focus for this enquiry rather than *Engage's* non-formal training opportunities.

The programme budget totalled £30,000. £11,774 of this was assigned in research grants. The remaining £18,226 funded a range of grant management services, training opportunities, and events. The programme ran from January 2016 to September 2017.

4.3.2 *Engage*: The funded projects

Following a call, we received 13 proposals from which five were funded – four from registered charities and one from an unincorporated association. The registered charities were all small or medium-sized (as per the National Council for Voluntary Organisation's Civil Society Almanac's [online] classification – cross-reference Chapter One, Section 1.3), whilst the unincorporated association was a below-the-radar group. Table (7) provides an overview of the VCSOs involved in *Engage*.

Two of the shortlisted VCSOs – Education and Phobia – had pre-existing relationships with academics at the University, albeit non-CBPR ones. Their contacts agreed to partner with them for *Engage*. For the remaining three projects, I approached social science academics that I thought could be interested due to their research areas. Given that grants went directly to the VCSOs and could not be used to cover academic staff time, academics were involved pro-bono. Not all academics approached agreed to partake, but I was able to secure agreement from three to act as collaborators for the Creative, Environment, and Play projects. Those for Creative and Play then recruited additional colleagues.

See Appendix Two for details of the aims and outcomes of each of the *Engage* projects. This is provided as context; the enquiry did not look to investigate the research undertaken in the projects nor to comment on the efficacy or otherwise of research outcomes.

Organisation	Organisational mission	Form	Staff	Size
Creative	To use the power of the creative process to make a real difference to people's lives, inspiring and empowering those with mental health difficulties or facing life challenges to explore, develop, and grow	Registered charity	3	Medium
Education	To promote racial equality and challenge racism in the education system	Registered charity	2	Small
Environment	To combat climate change and the crisis of resource depletion through ethical, social, cultural, economic, environmental, and community action	Unincorporated association	N/A	Micro
Phobia	To help sufferers of phobias, obsessive compulsive disorder and other related anxiety to overcome their fears and become ex-sufferers	Registered charity	1	Small
Play	To inspire, challenge and empower children, young people, families, and communities through play	Registered charity	5	Medium

Table 7: Overview of VCSOs involved in Engage

4.3.3 *Engage*: Project participants

Table (8) shows the grants awarded to each project, and the composition of each project team, including the academics' disciplines and the charity workers' job roles. In some instances, projects drew on wider groups of people (e.g. during data collection phases) but these people were not official members of project teams and lay outside the

Organisation	Project Grant	Project Team Composition	Research Participants
Creative	£2,550	Comprising 7 individuals (2 charity workers, 2 volunteers, 3 academics)	4 individuals: • Creative Director • Creative Manager • Creative Volunteer • Social Work Academic
Education	£3,000	Comprising 4 individuals (2 charity workers, 2 academics)	3 individuals: • Education Director • Social Work Academic • Education Academic
Environment	£1,623	Comprising 5 individuals (4 volunteers, 1 academic)	4 individuals: • 3 x Environment volunteers • Psychology Academic
Phobia	£1,675	Comprising 4 individuals (1 charity worker, 2 volunteers, 1 academic)	3 individuals: • Phobia Director • Phobia Volunteer • Clinical Psychology Academic
Play	£2,926	Comprising 6 individuals (2 charity workers, 4 academics)	3 individuals: • Play Director • Play Manager • Health Academic

Table 8: Details of grants and project team compositions across each of the Engage projects

enquiry's scope. Out of 26 programme members (comprising 11 academics, seven charity workers and eight volunteers), 17 were interviewed (65% of the total).

I initially approached both the lead academic and lead VCSO participant of each project (a total of 10 individuals) about involvement. I felt that the commitment of these individuals to their respective projects would mean they would have much to reflect on and to share in terms of learning and identity. All leads agreed to interview.

My decision on the remaining interviewees was guided by the desire to ensure a balance between professional social categories. I secured six academics, six charity workers and five volunteers. Only three of the five projects – Creative, Environment, and Phobia – had volunteers on their project teams. Environment was staffed totally by volunteers, so there was a greater pool to draw on from this project. I approached the two volunteers involved in Creative with one agreeing to interview. The same transpired for Phobia.

4.4 Methods

Across the following sections, I outline and justify the data production methods that I deployed to explore my research aim and associated objectives:

> To explore the potential of Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) to produce transformative outcomes in knowledge democracy.

Objectives:

1. To investigate the learning that arises for academics, charity workers, and volunteers through CBPR;

2. To explore how CBPR shapes, and is shaped by, the professional identities of academics, charity workers, and volunteers, and how it effects social change.

Data production occurred over a three-month period (November 2017 to January 2018) during which time, participants undertook a mix of learning and identity exercises

alongside semi-structured interviews. I was attuned to ensuring evidence was credible and stable, following two principles advocated by Yin (2003):

a) **Triangulation:** I adopted a "multiple triangulation" (Gray, 2009: 193) strategy that is, I combined multiple data gathering techniques (identity and learning exercises, interviews, and programme documentation), multiple data sources (academics, charity workers, and volunteers) from across multiple data sites (five CBPR projects), and multiple concepts and theories (pedagogic rights, specialised identities, and pedagogical spaces) to establish data trustworthiness. I hoped that the adoption of such a strategy in my research design would enable counter-patterns as well as convergences in data (Lather, 1986).

b) **Creation of case study databases so that other researchers could examine my raw data:** For each CBPR project, I created a case study database that comprised: audio recordings of participant interviews and associated transcripts; participants' exercise responses; my reflective field notes; and programme documentation.

Next, I detail my data production methods. I start with the memory stories and visual artefact exercises, designed to elicit participants' learning. As Wang (2016: 51) notes, metaphorical language and images are a useful way for "expressing and reflecting on learning experiences". For participants, the exercises were presented as an 'either / or' choice; 13 memory stories and 8 visual artefacts were collected (N.B. four participants chose to do both exercises).

4.4.1 Learning: Memory stories exercise

I required participants to write a short memory story about a learning experience from the 'other' in their CBPR project. Ahead of interviews, I emailed out instructions (Appendix Three) to write a story about: *A situation when I felt I really learned something from my academic / community partner [delete as appropriate]*. I advised learning could mean anything, positive or negative, about a topic, about self, about

others, about research, and so on. Mindful of time pressures many of my participants were under, I suggested they spend no more than 15 minutes on their story.

My instructions marked an element of guidance, the stories told in response to my instructions rather than naturalistically occurring in conversation (Elliott, 2005; Mannay, 2016). So, despite the productions being participatory, my power as a researcher remained in the field (Mannay, 2016), although the semi-structured interviews that followed the exercise gave scope for naturalistic stories to arise.

Several memory stories subsequently produced focused not on a specific learning situation rather, on the overall learning experience from a particular CBPR project. And a couple took to metaphors to explain their learning. These stories still elicited rich data; the exercise unlocked people's learning and reflections no matter how they interpreted the instructions (Alexander, 2016).

Memories are selective; what people recollect may not be what they choose to tell. There are elements of sifting, selecting and perhaps, exaggeration in any memory story (Bridges, 2006; Slay & Smith, 2011). As Arksey & Knight (1999) suggest, participants may be tempted to neaten things up and to present themselves in a socially acceptable light. To limit such neatening, I instructed people to write whatever came to mind, without concern for style and typos. I also said I would embrace less polished stories.

4.4.2 Learning: Visual artefacts exercise

For the visual exercise, I used the same prompt as the memory story, asking participants to represent: *A situation when I felt I really learned something from my academic / community partner [delete as appropriate]*. I suggested that the visual representation could be directly of the situation or a metaphor for it. Again, I told participants to spend no more than 15 minutes on the exercise (Appendix Three).

As the CBPR projects had concluded by the time of my enquiry, participants were unable to capture a situation as it unfolded, and I could not assume they would have a photographic record of a relevant situation. So, the exercise encouraged participants to

produce or source digital, photographic or handcrafted images. Of the eight images produced, two were photographs, one digitally created, and five handcrafted. Six were produced directly by the participants and two sourced from the Internet or from someone else.

I felt it important to offer a visual alternative to the memory story exercise as I did not wish to assume that all participants would be equally comfortable with the written word. I also thought it valuable to source artefacts that disrupted the hegemony and linearity of written texts (Eaves, 2014), and hoped recourse to visual images would focus memories, helping to unleash detail (Banks, 2007; Harper, 2002).

As with the memory stories, the visual artefacts exercise engaged participants "intuitively and rationally (and emotionally and intellectually) in the reflective and creative process of meaning making" (Wang, 2014: 54). It was the elicitation of authentic expression and deep engagement that was my goal; I did not judge the aesthetics of resultant products (ibid). And I asked all participants to explain their memory stories and visual artefacts to me to access their internal narratives – i.e. that they intended – rather than overlaying my own readings (Mannay, 2016).

4.4.3 Identity exercise

The aim of exploring participants' identities was to discover how they evolved within CBPR social arenas in ways that enabled individuals to act meaningfully and authentically and to effect social change. For my pilot study (Stevens, 2017), I had used an illustration of a stick figure in the interview process and, in discussion with participants about how it 'felt' to be a CBPR researcher, marked: by the 'Head', their relevant knowledge and understanding (i.e. cognitive processes); by the 'Heart', their values and beliefs (i.e. emotional processes); and by the 'Hands', their research-related actions (i.e. practical skills). These categories of 'feeling' aligned with Archer's (2008a) categories of 'being', 'having', and 'doing' in relation to professional identity (cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.6). In its implementation, I had found the stick figure approach clumsy and disruptive to the flow of interviews. It had placed participants 'on-the-spot', pressuring them to come up with ideas to fit a certain category.

To foster spontaneity, greater participatory production, and to capture data about originating professional identities, I devised a new exercise for completion ahead of interview. I emailed instructions (Appendix Four) to participants requesting two lists – five to 10 things they felt they needed to fulfil their job / volunteer role, and five to 10 things for their CBPR role. I suggested lists could be in terms of the knowledge, skills, understanding, values, beliefs, personal qualities or anything else that came to mind. Lists were not prioritised, and I reassured that it did not matter if there was overlap between them.

In relation to academics' identity within CBPR roles, 45 different qualities were generated, that I coded between nine in 'Head', and 18 each in 'Heart' and 'Hands'. Charity workers identified 48 different qualities, split between 12 in 'Head', 23 in 'Heart', and 13 in 'Hands'. And finally, volunteers generated 67 different qualities (some participants listed more than 10 qualities each), split between 14 in 'Head', 29 in 'Heart', and 24 in 'Hands'. So, common across the categories was the reification of emotional and practical skills over cognitive.

4.4.4 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are a means to understand things we cannot directly observe, such as participants' perceptions, behaviours, feelings, and understandings (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Elliott, 2005). They embrace subjectivity and enable researchers to explore experiences. In line with my social realist positioning, I focused on the content of interviews, assuming participants' talk a truthful reflection of their inner reality (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Elliott, 2005).

I conducted 17 interviews; the shortest was 50 minutes, with most well over one hour and one stretching to one hour and 45 minutes. Interviews were professionally transcribed, intelligent verbatim. The aims of the interviews were twofold. Firstly, to discuss the data produced through the learning and identity exercises. Secondly, through follow-up questioning, to generate intersubjective knowledge and insight (Mannay, 2016).

Each interview followed a set format, designed to limit awkwardness with participants and to enhance validity. At the outset, I asked participants to share their learning exercises. This acted as an icebreaker, giving them an immediate focus to talk about (Banks, 2007). Sharing stories facilitated empathy, enabling participants to externalise their feelings and to talk about experiences significant to them (Elliott, 2005). In telling memory stories or sharing visual artefacts, and in the discussions that followed, participants commonly remembered things they had forgotten or came to see things they had always known in new ways (Banks, 2007). New understanding was produced in collaboration with me which in turn fostered intimacy.

Following discussion of the learning exercises, I turned to an interview schedule (informed by literature) to explore pedagogical relations within, and changes arising from, CBPR pedagogical spaces (Appendix Five). For my own clarity, I made notes on the schedule as to why I was asking the questions, alongside prompts for potential questions to probe further. As interviews were semi-structured, I was open to spontaneous follow-up questions (Arksey & Knight, 1999).

The second half of the interview started with the identity exercise. I asked participants to read out their two lists and then explored with them any similarities or differences between the two. Again, a more discursive format allowed for new insight and understandings to arise. The interview concluded with a schedule of questioning to cause reflection on roles within the CBPR project and interrelationships with the 'other' (Appendix Six). Following each interview, I wrote reflective field notes that captured my gut responses and observations and that considered any impacts arising from my 'insider researcher' status (cross-reference Section 4.5.1).

In striving for credible data, I was attuned to the need to build trust and rapport with participants. I framed my questions using every day, not sociological, language, as simpler questions are more likely to elicit narratives (Elliott, 2005). I arranged interviews at times, and in locations, of the participants' choosing so that they were in comfortable and familiar surroundings (Arksey & Knight, 1999). This meant I found myself in varied work settings, pubs, and even people's homes. I also guaranteed anonymity and shared interview transcripts with participants. This was crucial as it

gave participants the power to redress any inaccuracies or misrepresentations, an additional form of face validity to that described in Section 4.2.2 (Bridges, 2006; Lather, 1986). Two participants made minor amends to transcripts.

In sum, through incorporating discussions of the learning and identity exercises alongside free-flowing and structured, plain English questioning, the semi-structured interviews supported participants to discover their own meanings through reflection (Mannay, 2016). I was aware that the quality of my data would be dependent on the quality of the relationships I built with participants (Arksey & Knight, 1999), hence the careful structuring of my interviews.

4.5 Ethics

I approached this enquiry with a reflexive mindset, embracing critical subjectivity. As Etherington (2006: 81) explains, reflexivity refers to "the capacity of researchers to acknowledge how their own experiences and contexts (which are usually fluid and changing) inform the process and outcomes of inquiry". As outlined in Chapter One, Section 1.5, I had my own personal and professional motives for conducting the research. And my alignment with social realist philosophy informed my ontological and epistemological perspectives, shaping my choice of methodology (ibid). Adopting a critical subjectivity meant I took greater responsibility for my actions, reflecting on their impact on the research and how they contributed to participatory productions (Bridges, 2006).

Informed consent is an integral way to protect the privacy and welfare of research participants (Arksey & Knight, 1999). On emailing individuals with a request to participate, I included an information sheet (Appendix Seven) that detailed the: purpose and nature of the enquiry; likely time commitment; degree of anonymity; and the option to withdraw at any stage. Two individuals declined involvement. For the 17 secured, I devised a consent form (Appendix Eight) that stressed the: ability to withdraw from the enquiry at any stage; ability to amend or withdraw information from interview transcripts; and the fact that data would be anonymised. There was an added stipulation that individuals could agree to or not – that their data would be used

anonymously for a wider evaluation of *Engage*. All agreed. Consent forms were read and signed in my presence ahead of interviews, so I could answer questions there and then. No vulnerable adults, children or young people were involved in the enquiry, so all were able to sign on their own behalf. For two of the projects, I approached volunteers who were also service users of charities, but only having secured agreement of relevant charity workers to do so.

To ensure the privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity of my participants, all names (including that of the programme itself) are pseudonyms. However, anonymity extends beyond pseudonyms (Bryman, 2012), which is why I am non-specific as to the geographical location of the enquiry, and do not disclose identity or attribute comments from which participants could be identified. I do so with recognition that in hiding individual's identifying characteristics (e.g. their job title), some distinctions in meaning and implications disappear (Arksey & Knight, 1999). However, this is not detrimental to this enquiry given its focus on broad professional social categories rather than local identities.

Coghlan & Brannick's (2005: 78) ethical checklist (Table (9)) proved a useful way to structure my thinking and related actions in relation to ethical issues. The checklist aided completion of an 'Ethical Implications of Proposed Research' form for my host department. Informed by the ethics guidelines of the British Educational Research Association, this form included questions as to: the justification for the research; how I would reach and involve participants; and actions I would take with regards confidentiality, privacy, and accuracy. The enquiry did not face complex ethical issues and received departmental approval in October 2017.

Given that I was an insider researcher it was ethically important to reflect on the identities that I brought to, and the potential impacts on, research strategy (Kerstetter, 2012; Taylor, 2001), not least to mitigate against sources of subjective bias.

Ethical issues	Actions
Negotiating access with authorities and participants	As co-lead of *Engage*, I negotiated access in person and via email. I sought permissions from charity workers when approaching volunteers that I knew were also service users.
Promising confidentiality of information, identity, and data	Promised through plain English information and consent forms. Data was stored in line with the University's data storage guidance policy and only accessible via password. Transcripts were anonymised with the code saved in a separate document under password protection.
Ensuring participants have the right not to participate in research	Promised through both information and consent forms.
Keeping relevant others informed	My supervisor was kept informed throughout the data production process.
Getting permission to use documentation that was produced for other institutional purposes	N/A – as co-lead of *Engage*, I had produced the documentation upon which I drew.
Maintaining your own intellectual property rights	Intellectual property rights remained my own in line with my submission for the award of EdD.
Keeping good faith by showing you are someone who can be trusted and always checking with others for any misunderstanding	Interviews took place at a time and in a location convenient for participants. Participants could amend or redact information in interview transcripts. I produced a two-page brief of research findings to share with participants.

Negotiating with those concerned how you will publish descriptions of their work and points of view	I anonymised the research setting, context, and individuals.

Table 9: An ethical checklist for this enquiry

4.5.1 My role as an insider researcher

As the enquiry was based in my employing organisation and about a programme I co-led, I was an insider researcher. Insider researchers conduct research with communities or identity groups to which they belong (Hanson, 2013). As such, insider research challenges positivist insistences of researcher neutrality and objectivity. Reflexivity on behalf of the researcher is therefore required to "'read out' the epistemologies" (Lather, 1993: 674) in their various practices, an acknowledgement of their own perspectives and positionality in order to establish data trustworthiness (Gray, 2009; Lather, 1986). This section provides an overview of my own reflexivity and actions that I took in light.

It is common for professional doctoral students to research their employing organisation; this risks strain and ambiguity between researcher and professional roles (Hanson, 2013). I lessened role ambiguity in two ways. Firstly, I did not start collecting data until after the conclusion of *Engage* so I was not actively managing it at the time. Secondly, I took a period of study leave (nine weeks) to collect data, allowing habitation of my research role full-time.

Insider researchers bring preunderstanding to their research. Preunderstanding "includes both explicit and tacit knowledge" (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005: 61). For insider researchers, personal experience and knowledge of their own system and job marks distinctive preunderstanding. I brought such understanding from having co-led *Engage*, having conducted a pilot study, and having studied for an MSc in Voluntary & Community Sector Studies. Previous experience of a field can mean, "opportunities for discovery become clouded with the conventions of acquaintance" (Mannay, 2016: 28). It is easy to assume too much, to think you know the answer, and to be closed to alternative framings (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005). I was therefore attuned to the need to make the familiar strange (Mannay, 2016).

The learning and identity exercises acted as tools of defamiliarisation. They disrupted my conventional ways of seeing (and indeed, that of my participants), so that I could appreciate participants' unique viewpoints (Mannay, 2016). Crucially, the exercises opened up my perspective to "disconfirming evidence" (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005: 62). In locating me in participants' life worlds, they unleashed gateways to destinations beyond my preconceptions (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Mannay, 2016) and enabled me to understand not just *what* is known but *how* it is known (Etherington, 2006).

As Kerstetter (2012) contends, insider researchers can engage research participants more easily. This in part is due to how preunderstanding "can counter the severe imbalance with regard to intimacy and distance between interviewer and interviewee" (Mannay, 2016: 30), serving to strengthen connection with participants (Arksey & Knight, 1999). A more relaxed, open and trustful atmosphere between insider researcher and participants enhances data validity (Hanson, 2013; Mannay, 2016).

Having knowledge of the University, an understanding of its cultures and informal structures, enabled greater depth of exploration and a greater intensity of research that I believe produced more reliable and valid research findings (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005; Hanson, 2013). I had pre-existing work relationships with four of the six academics involved. Indeed, one was on maternity leave at the time of my data production yet still agreed to meet me, access an outsider researcher would have struggled to negotiate.

However, it would be wrong to cast myself as an absolute insider. Whilst all participants were from *Engage*, 11 of the 17 were based in VCSOs. In relation to these participants, I was more of an outsider. Because of this, I thought there, risk of "cultural resistance" (Cortazzi & Jin, 2006: 31), a lack of trust meaning VCSO participants reticent to share their experiences. To counter, I demonstrated my own preunderstanding of the voluntary & community sector, discussing my professional and research experiences in the sector as an attempt to connect. This tactic worked and was enhanced by the fact that the VCSO participants had just completed their own research projects, and so empathised with my conducting my own.

To conclude, as Hanson (2013) contends it is not possible to be absolutely either an insider or an outsider rather, to continually move between the two. This is an argument well-rehearsed by CBPR researchers who commonly reflect on their positionality (cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.9.1). I found myself positioned slightly differently between academic and VCSO participants, but my varied positioning appeared to have negligible impact on the quantity and quality of data produced.

4.6 Data analysis

In the final part of this chapter, I detail my data analytic strategy and explicate the approaches I took. My intention is to demonstrate the merit and trustworthiness of my analysis, before telling the stories of my data across chapters Five and Six.

4.6.1 Analytic strategy and principle

My analytic strategy aimed to uncover meaning in the data that attended to my research aim and objectives. Arksey & Knight (1999) contend that meanings from social research data are shaped by the intersection of four factors – texts (participants' responses), research design, literature, and the researcher themselves:

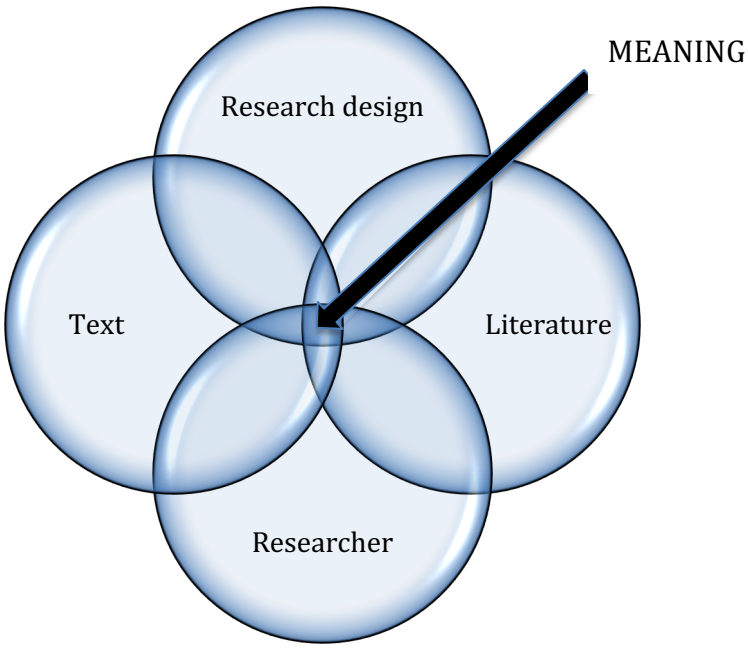

Figure 4: Intersecting factors that shape meanings from social research data

Taking each in turn – my analysis began at the conception of the research design phase. Given that I had already conducted a pilot study, I used this prior experience to shape my plans and questioning for the enquiry. And throughout data production, I kept notes on my ideas, hunches, and insights that shaped my interactions with participants as data production progressed (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Mannay, 2016).

My person as a critical research instrument, the knowledge and preunderstanding I brought from research and practitioner experiences, was integral to generating a high-quality analysis (Yin, 2003). Through these experiences and through extensive examination of pertinent literature, I brought expert knowledge which was further directed through application of Bernsteinian conceptual frames. In applying concepts of pedagogic rights and specialised identities, my data production and analysis processes focused on certain data and not others (ibid). This allowed me to see past "background noise" (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 163) in case studies, attending only to the "dataset" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79) relevant to my research.

I approached data with a reductionist principle (Bridges, 2006; Bryman, 2012; Robson, 2011). Qualitative methods typically produce "data mountains" (Robson, 2011: 473). For each of my 17 participants, raw data included:

- Responses to the learning exercise;
- Responses to the identity exercise;
- Interview transcripts;
- Reflective field notes made post-interview;
- Contextual information from project documentation;
- Memos;
- Diagramming.

In qualitative data analysis, the skill lies in reducing raw data to make sense of them but in a way that still keeps their "richness, multiplicity and complexity" (Bridges, 2006: 96) and whilst recognising that any reduction – any selection of what to focus on and what not – is an explicit demonstration of power by the researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Two other principles underpinned my analytic strategy. I accepted that narratives would never properly achieve closure as there is "always the possibility that future events will change our interpretation of the meaning of events in the past" (Elliott, 2005: 12). The stories, and people's reflections on them, could look very different with the passing of time. However, in adopting an "interpretive analytical standpoint" (Genat, 2009: 113), I understood participants' texts as their 'truth' "regarding a particular phenomenon at a particular moment in time" (ibid: 114), and that there was value to exploring these 'truths'. This does infer a common critique of qualitative data – its "tenuousness, provisionality and complexity" (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 170). Qualitative research can never prove equivocal but, as indicated in Section 4.2.1, it was not my intention to chase an absolute 'truth'.

In the final two sections, I present the specific analytical approaches I took in relation to data generated from the learning and identity exercises and semi-structured interviews.

4.6.2 Analysing the learning and identity exercises

To analyse both memory stories and visual artefacts, I adapted Labov & Waletzky's (cited in Elliott, 2005: 9) work on elements of narrative to design a template that allowed for analysis across the following elements:

1. Abstract (a summary of the subject of the narrative / visual artefact);
2. Orientation (time, place, situation, participants);
3. Complicating action (what happened);
4. Evaluation (the meaning and significance of the action);
5. Resolution (what finally happened).

The 'evaluation' element is of especial significance for it is how the storyteller "conveys to an audience how they are to understand the *meaning* of the events that constitute the narrative, and simultaneously indicates what type of response is required" (Elliott, 2005: 9). To these five elements, I added the following to enhance my critical thinking and analysis:

1. Pedagogic rights (establishing which, if any, could be coded to the story / visual artefact);
2. Slant (whether the story / visual artefact was broadly 'positive' or 'negative');
3. Identity (what the story / visual artefact revealed about the professional identity of the storyteller);
4. Quotes (those particularly pertinent to action, evaluation, and resolution of the narrative);
5. Observations (my own memos in relation to the data).

See Appendix Nine for an example of a completed template.

Using data generated by the identity exercises and from discussions around them, I first enumerated the data. I created spreadsheets for each of the three professional social categories and captured on these participants' identity lists in relation to their professional identities and their CBPR roles. I noted overlaps between the lists and then coded them as to 'head', 'heart' or 'hands'. This work gave me a flavour as to the extent of overlap between professional and CBPR roles and to which of cognitive, emotional or practical skills were reified the most by the differing professional social categories. I then created a basic template for memos, making general notes and observations in relation to identity-related discussions (Appendix Ten).

4.6.3 Analysing the semi-structured interviews

I analysed interview data using NVivo software and thematic coding analysis (TCA). TCA is an atheoretical approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Robson, 2011) that allows for the tackling and reduction of data through a series of five iterative (non-linear) phases (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). The first phase involves familiarising yourself with the data. As I had not transcribed the interviews myself, this phase was important. Initially, I checked transcripts against original recordings for accuracy. I then listened to each interview two more times, making memos (both voice and written) as to key learnings and insights from the data (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Johnson & Christensen, 2012). I also reviewed my reflective field notes for further context.

Following tens of hours of familiarisation, I progressed to the second phase – coding. Codes refer to "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998 cited in Robson, 2011: 478). Coding organises data into meaningful groups, "rooted empirically in the data and conceptually in the research issues" (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 164). Codes can be deductive (i.e. developed before examining the data) or inductive, emergent through examination of the data (Johnson & Christensen, 2012).

Bernstein's concepts of pedagogic rights and specialised identities provided a deductive frame. However, I resisted drawing up a list of codes that I thought would be relevant ahead of analysing the data, preferring to see what emerged before cross-referencing back to Bernstein's concepts. My search was therefore theoretically oriented but not from a pre-ordained list of codes.

Phases three and four involved the interpretative analysis of the data (Robson, 2011). In line with my social realist positioning, I interpreted data with a "semantic approach" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 84). Initially, I sorted my codes into potential semantic themes, into "some level of patterned response or meaning" (ibid: 82). This was an iterative process, with my refining codes and themes through subsequent, reductionist reviews between data and analysis. I did not aim for, or expect, perfection. Rather, I looked to be reasonably satisfied that I had coded and themed the data as true as possible to the stories within.

In phase four, I focused on how the themes could be put together based on Bernstein's concepts. Practically, this necessitated plenty of diagramming, mind mapping, and sketching of networks to clarify relationships (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). In so doing, I progressed to the fifth and final phase of the TCA – the integration and interpretation of data. This involved exploration within and across themes to understand the 'essence' of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Robson, 2011). To generate insight, I noted similarities and differences across the three professional categories and five *Engage* projects – so-called "cross-case synthesis" (Yin, 2003: 133). Bringing the

experiences of participants up against Bernsteinian concepts enabled "construct validity" (Lather, 1986: 67), the shaping of his theory in light of the logic of the data.

Robson (2011) observes common critiques of TCA. A generic approach, it lacks kudos as an analytic method and researchers rarely provide information about the details of the procedure. Braun & Clarke (2006) add that, if not used within an existing theoretical framework, TCA has limited interpretative power. Across this section, I have attended to these critiques through explication of my analytic strategy.

I have established that I conducted my enquiry in an ethical way with the aim of maximising the credibility and trustworthiness of my data production and subsequent analysis processes. In the final two chapters, I address findings and tell their stories.

Chapter Five: Analysis

For me, it is also about that interest of working with different people and finding creative solutions to what happens when you put two seemingly very different groups together, community and academic, and you come up with something unique between you that you wouldn't have done if you'd just gone out there as academics and not worked in that partnership. I think you get different data. You get different results by working in a publicly engaged way.

(Academic)

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I critically analyse my dataset through the application of Bernstein's pedagogic rights of enhancement, inclusion, and participation. In this application, I also consider associated social impacts and reflect on any consequences for specialised identity work. The seeds sown in this chapter are elaborated in Chapter Six.

With relation the right of enhancement, I find that learning about 'self' and 'other' arises, leading to re/discovered confidence, re/discovered voice, and new ways of understanding and doing research. I note that counter to Bernstein's contention, enhancement need not entail a discipline – that there are other sources of enhancement, for example, the validation of everyday knowledge by academics.

In terms of the right of inclusion, I note the import of the collaborative leader role in holding paradoxical unity / diversity tensions within Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) pedagogical spaces, bonding people around a collective purpose and enabling unifying, specialised identities to emerge. I also note power dynamics between masters and apprentices, how weak classifications and framings disrupt identities and yet are crucial to building communitas.

Finally, with regards the right of participation, I suggest that several of the *Engage* projects co-produced praxis knowledge that resulted in social change although I also contend that in other instances, change arose from activism. I find that whilst CBPR pedagogical spaces were, by and large, democratic, many outcomes impacted systems, rather than life, worlds. There was therefore evidence of co-option of CBPR by the neoliberal yet also, tantalising glimpses of paradigmatic impacts that challenged norms.

5.1 The right of enhancement

The first of Bernstein's pedagogic rights – enhancement – is the right of individuals to critical understanding and to imagine new possibilities through crossing personal, social or intellectual boundaries. As a pedagogical space, CBPR necessitates participants projecting from professional roles into new social worlds, a risky endeavour as different worlds collide. Projection might be disruptive, messy and uncomfortable yet comes with the enticing potential of new ways of being and understanding, of new identities.

Across this section, I present evidence from my dataset for the right of enhancement and consider related social impacts.

5.1.1 Evidence for the right of enhancement

As social arenas straddling academy-community boundaries, *Engage's* projects constituted pedagogical spaces where abstract and everyday knowledges combined in different ways to produce praxis knowledge. In these spaces, in and out-groups adopted bicameral orientations and processes that resulted in new ways of being. The spaces activated criticality amongst participants, opening their minds about their own, and others', identities. Individual enhancement was rife across the dataset, recurrent in interviews, and featured across all stories and visual artefacts.

Most participants mentioned that projects provided much-needed space for critical reflexivity. One volunteer referred to this as "*processing space*", an opportunity as much to express what they were feeling and thinking as to talk about difficulties and to bring

into being, thoughts. The space allowed for the deliberation-in-action required for praxis knowledge production, for critical reflection and the raising of critical consciousness.

For one charity worker, their project was a chance to "*come up for air*". They felt lost in their day job, in all the 'doing'. In escaping organisational boundaries, the worker "*reflected more on professional practice*", and through working with others, gained 'objectivity', a critical distance from their everyday work. Academics helped them "*see the wood from the trees*" and brought a "*clarity of thinking*" to their professional practice. Another charity worker concurred, explaining that "*it's not that thinking isn't valued within the charity sector, it's just that it is a luxury*". They felt immersed in both service delivery and never-ending fundraising quests that came at the expense of critical thinking time, evidence of Molano-Avilon's (2017) concern that neoliberal pressures might constrain organisational learning (cross-reference Chapter One, Section 1.3.2)

Through inhabiting a 'processing space', participants subjected themselves to liminal spaces of learning that acted as gateways to new and previously inaccessible ways of thinking and doing. The spaces were full of potential and brought imaginative freedom. They opened new perspectives in relation to two particular areas – 'self' and 'other'.

5.1.1.1 Learning about 'self'

Reflections on self, on new ways of being, were articulated by the majority of participants. For some, new ways marked 'unbecomings'. An academic noted that they had been taught to attack those they intellectually disagreed with – "*you know, you go for the throat … you're trained to go for it*". CBPR required "*not exercising that power*" and "*the ability to compromise*" – a democratic orientation to research. Another came from a 'traditional' social research background and initially had trouble connecting with their voluntary & community sector organisation (VCSO). It was when they helped the VCSO with data collection – crossing both physical and epistemological boundaries – that they noted a turning point in relations. They learnt that CBPR required being different, that actions on the ground were reified over being a distant 'expert'. Yet this

way of being felt unusual to them – "*it felt sort of quite Christian, this need to suffer*" – and they inhabited it fleetingly before returning to the 'normality' of their 'traditional' academic identity.

Charity workers' professional identities were also disrupted. The processing space caused workers to perceive themselves not just as 'doers' but as 'thinkers', providing them with "*fresh eyes*" on practice. Several mentioned that they planned to adapt ways of working to embrace research orientations. They all felt that their organisations' evaluation approaches should change to become more participatory, enhancing the democratic orientations of their respective organisations. Their emergent 'unbecomings' therefore involved assuming a participatory researcher mindset. As two workers commented:

> *I could perhaps be more direct and be a bit more researchful* [sic] *in the way that I work with the people I'm working with.*

> *Research and evaluation are pretty close to each other and we have to do a lot of evaluation so I think there's a really interesting way of us going forward on a kind of participatory-based evaluation.*

For most volunteers, a 're-authoring' of self, represented significant professional, intellectual, and personal growth. In accepting new challenges and developing new skillsets ("*I suppose public speaking is not something that really comes up in the volunteer role but was quite a big thing for the Engage role*"), volunteers grew in confidence. I return to the impacts of this in Section 5.1.2 but note that enhanced confidence lay in both the realisation of voice ("*I thought, well you know, I'm here. I do have a voice … It, sort of, restored confidence I don't think I'd even realised wasn't there*"), and in purpose shared by others ("*It was a huge learning of actually, 'This isn't just important for me. This is important for a lot of people'*").

In sum, in crossing boundaries and being confronted by out-group identities within pedagogical spaces, most participants experienced liminality, holding up mirrors to their own values and in many instances, learning something new about themselves.

New versions of self – new specialised identities – that challenged normative ways of being, evolved accordingly; emancipation from received versions of self was evidenced across the professional social categories with most participants critically reflecting on their position in and of the world.

5.1.1.2 Learning about 'other'

All participants reflected in some way as to how CBPR caused them to confront out-groups – the 'other' – in ways that enlightened their perspectives of them, and of their own in-group. Where pedagogical spaces operated in these inclusive ways, common ground was found. Most charity workers spoke of how the academics confounded their expectations of a 'typical' academic. This formed the central theme to one of the worker's memory stories:

> *They* [the academic] *were wholly not what I had expected of an academic and a researcher. This initial learning was embroiled with my naïve prejudice and to have it shattered was an extremely positive and humbling experience.* [The academic] *was not an unfunny, even morose figure, who had no experience of the real world and conducted themselves with an air of superiority. On the contrary, they were one of the most pleasant, positive and understanding people that I have met in my role. This learning was constant during our work together with* [the academic] *proving to be empathetic, truly collaborative and above all, and this is the most important factor for me, willing and eager to learn, especially from our community members.*

Here, the academic's ways of being challenge the stereotype of the remote 'expert' of 'traditional' social research. In approaching the VCSO participants as equals, as fellow learners, the academic delimited the 'cult of expertise' discourse so often associated with the academy and thereby stymied their default 'outsider' status.

There was less evidence in the dataset of academics stereotyping VCSO participants. However, one spoke as to their learning of the impact of contextual factors on their VCSO in particular, of resource constraints at a time of austerity:

> *I'm always so aware of situating things within a context but I never anticipated the wider context being so fundamental and I guess that is because they are a charity; not just the work that they do but their own income is dependent upon them securing the funding. It really is everything and yeah, it seeped into all of the conversations we had.*

Relatedly, the academic produced the following image:

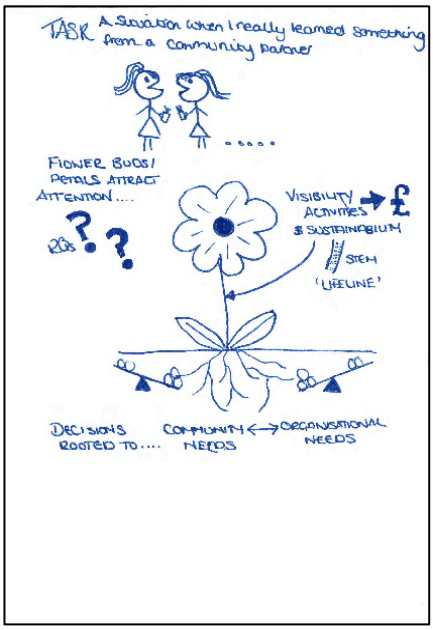

Figure 5: A visual artefact submitted by an academic

The VCSO – the flower in the picture – was rooted in a "*kind of dynamic between the community need and the organisational need*" which drove all their decisions. The academic noted that when discussing the research, the VCSO kept coming back to wider expectations of "*making money or trying to at least get hold of money*". In this way, the research questions (RQ in the illustration) were tailored to generating data that would enhance the visibility of the VCSO and maximise the likelihood of it securing money. The charity workers faced a "*kind of emotional strain … torn between the community needs, the organisational needs and … the research needs*". This strain suggests 'psychic splitting' (Archer, 2008b) was required by workers, to hold neoliberal, survivalist pressures alongside personal values, like helping communities.

I initially thought that learning within CBPR would occur between, and be about, *inter*-sector 'others' yet it also arose between *intra*-sector 'others', particularly between charity workers and service users. Through engaging service users in and with research, workers learnt more about them and their needs. This led to altering conceptions of, and provisions for, users. In Education, service users were initially conceived as beneficial recipients of the VCSO's services. Through participation in *Engage*, users altered this frame to one highlighting their contributions to the local community, contributions that the VCSO facilitated through its varied activities:

> *I think a lot of our work is what impact the work we do has on young people. I think their* [the young people's] *idea, so their lightbulb moment, that they put into the research was, 'What actually did they do for their community'? So rather than researching what is done to young people, it's looked at what young people can do for others. So that did genuinely change around our perspective.*
>
> (Charity worker)

Conceptions of users thus shifted from 'passive recipients' to 'active contributors', an emancipatory discourse that the VCSO later used in funding proposals.

I have highlighted how the pedagogical spaces in *Engage* led to re-authored conceptions of 'self' and 'others' within and across sectors, with participants imagining new ways of being, articulated through specialised identities. This points to the enabling and transformative nature of the spaces. Yet they were not all experienced as such, with some pedagogical relations instead reproducing inequalities. Indeed, one of *Engage's* projects entailed a conflictual process that led to a reaffirming of professional identities, of the status quo. This outlier example is worthy of greater exploration and explication.

5.1.1.3 Professional identities as comforting constraints

Liminality within pedagogical spaces can be experienced as uncomfortable as it challenges normative ways of being. This proved the case in Education where

academics and charity workers struggled with how to be in a project marked by conflict. The struggle to be manifested in learning exercises, with a charity worker illustrating the experience as follows:

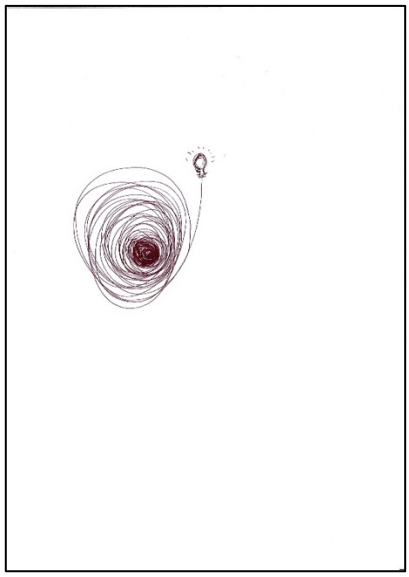

Figure 6: A visual artefact submitted by a charity worker

Here, the swirl represents the "*blackhole*" of the research with the bulb a guiding light in the mess representing research outcomes of benefit to service users. For the worker, it was important that the research kept focus on the needs and priorities of the organisation and of service users.

A collaborating academic produced a similar metaphor for the research process, as like being lost in a labyrinth:

> *The lost passages, the dead ends, you know, thinking the tunnel will take you back to the daylight. And you follow it and then it is another dead end, so you go back and try another one. And you can smell the fresh air and then the tunnel is blocked. You have to go back. It was like over and over again.*

For the worker, they felt the academic more interested in the 'blackhole' (i.e. on critical reflection about the research process) than on the 'lightbulb' (i.e. the research outcomes that the organisation intended):

> *The priority at the end of the day of the organisation was being overlooked to some extent … and to be told that the blackhole was the research rather than the actual lightbulb, that was a totally different kind of perspective … that made me think, 'Well, people are much more concerned with the blackhole than the lightbulb'.*

The source of the conflict appears divergent understandings of, and aims for, the research. The worker aimed for an instrumental piece a la the Lewinian action research approach, a utilisation-focused piece with the goal of system improvement, Whereas, the academic sought a more Freirian critical, democratic, and emancipatory approach aimed at raising participants' critical consciousnesses. Whilst Burke et al (2017) contend that tensions can serve a pedagogical function, with productive conflicts stimulating deliberation that enhances learning, this did not occur in Education. Indeed, an academic shared this image as a metaphor for the conflict:

Figure 7: A visual artefact submitted by an academic

They contended:

> *The clashing of antlers is a power game between stags. It's like, 'Who is the biggest'? … Our conflict had no meaning because conflict needs to lead to change, to deeper understanding, to insight, to awareness, to shift, to, 'Let's do things differently' on both sides.*

As the conflict escalated, both sides retreated to the safety of their organisations, to their professional identities, thus shutting down potential for change. The retreats marked an embrace of expertise; for the charity worker, of their everyday knowledge about service users and for the academic, of their abstract knowledge:

> *You can think your way through this, go to your skills, go to your knowledge base. Go to your theoretical frameworks and think about this and stop being friends with them or stop trying to be friends with them and use your knowledge. And be the authority, set the boundaries, be professional. You know more than them.*

Here, the academic valorises their abstract knowledge over the community's everyday, an act of epistemic injustice and a retreat to the sacred that closed potential for the production of praxis knowledge. In reasserting strong classificatory relations, both sides prevented the opportunity for relational dialectics, for deeper knowing to arise through shared understanding of philosophies, principles, and practices. Power disparities within the pedagogical space were reaffirmed to the detriment of equality of participation. Collaborators renounced imaginative freedom in favour of professional identities that provided comforting constraints, and so the collaboration degenerated into a 'lifeless consultation'.

In conclusion, *Engage's* projects raised participants' critical consciousness – their conscientização – so that they were able to re-author themselves and their perceptions of others. However, the dataset included an example of a project where, in the light of conflict, professional identities were not re-authored rather, reaffirmed.

5.1.2 Social impacts arising from enhancement

Bernstein (2000) notes that the right to enhancement is the condition for personal confidence which is crucial to the ability to act. Without confidence to act, there can be no meaningful participation and action; people cannot operate as active citizens. In their model of social impact, Beckett et al (2018) make a similar observation that it is at the individual, micro-level that people re/discover social agency.

The confidence to act was prevalent in the dataset.

5.1.2.1 Re/discovered confidence

Whilst for Bernstein confidence arises from disciplinary (abstract) knowledge opening a discursive gap between the world as it appears versus how it might be, I found that confidence was not contingent solely on such knowledge. In fact, for VCSO participants, validation by 'prestigious' academics of their everyday knowledge, work, and experiences was confidence-inducing:

> *I feel confident yes. It, again, goes back to that feeling of sort of being validated in a way; what you're doing is worthwhile.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *The researcher sort of reminding us that actually we knew what we were talking about … That's why we're here 'cause we know what we're talking about.*
>
> (Volunteer)

Pedagogical relations that recognised and valued the different experiences of VCSO participants within pedagogical spaces led to a growth in confidence that resulted in enhanced capacity to act and that unleashed voice. Illustrations peppered the dataset:

> *After having my kids, I very much felt a sort of junior partner within the sector if you like … I'd sort of go along and listen and not necessarily talk and it's sort of given me confidence. Like I say, I've since chaired a steering group of people who have got way more experience than me in terms of years in the charity sector.*
>
> (Charity worker)

I feel like I can stand higher now, or more confidently in some of those meetings that I'm constantly in on. I sit on health and social care meetings for a lot of my work time with health professionals, so I feel more confident.

(Charity worker)

The project has given me confidence in my ideas. I've already spoken to the Arts Council about funding. And they were really excited. The women goes, 'Oh, that [the idea] *has got legs'.*

(Volunteer)

Evidently, participants experienced not just how to be in CBPR but also, how to be more effective and vocal in their professional roles. This is something I noted in my MSc research (Stevens, 2013) – that learning from a research process may translate back to enhanced professional efficacy.

There was also evidence of confidence arising from those VCSO participants who had previously studied at universities, re-engaging with abstract knowledge and so re-awakening their criticality:

I did my Masters and I would have liked to have worked in research or, been in academia, so I suppose in a way working at the University with my academic researcher did give me a bit of confidence really.

(Charity worker)

I guess it's made me really believe in my academic background again. I mean it was lovely, you know, going to the library at the University and getting books out and reading them, and spending time, you know, believing that you could sit down for hours and read some books and write some notes.

(Volunteer)

Of the five volunteers interviewed, four were currently out of work – some retired, some due to health reasons. A couple spoke of the impact of not being in work, and how this led to their struggling with identity and a sense of worth:

> *I was diagnosed with long-term health problems over five years ago and basically, I was told that I would never work again. That's a blow because there's so much identity around you know, what you do.*

> *I can't quantify myself in terms of, 'I am worth this because I am paid this'. It's a real struggle for most people in this society, and I struggle with that some days.*

For these volunteers, *Engage* gave a sense of purpose and opened up new opportunities for them to share their everyday knowledge:

> *It's actually led onto other things like* [the academic] *asked me to come and talk to their students about what it's like to live with long-term chronic health problems and being creative and how that actually, you know, gave me a sense of purpose.*

> *Doing something like this* [the *Engage* project] *I guess made me feel I am valuable, and I can do things.*

For volunteers – particularly those without access to a sense of identity and self-worth from professional careers – CBPR pedagogical spaces may prove of great personal enhancement but not necessarily, as Bernstein would have it, due to access to the sacred.

Whilst references to confidence were less prevalent in academics' data, a couple mentioned that they had enhanced their confidence to practice CBPR, through becoming comfortable with the uncertainty arising from the liminality of pedagogical spaces. One stated that in research, you usually have a clear idea of questions and process from the outset. The nature of *Engage* meant that their collaboration started out with none of these in place:

> *I was quite nervous when I went out to visit them* [the VCSO] *cos I guess it was probably a position of, 'I don't really know what this is all gonna be about'. You know, where we're going with it. So, yeah, pretending that I did know a bit about where we were going with it and what we could do. But I think if I was ever in that situation again, I'd now be fine knowing, 'Well we'll see where this goes; we don't know exactly what the shape of the project might be'.*

Implicitly, the academic felt they ought to know, so used are they to 'being an expert'. Not to know made them feel vulnerable – it challenged their received version of self as a holder of 'expert' knowledge. In collaborations, VCSOs may initially position as 'apprentices', implying academics as 'masters' (Stevens, 2013). This may exacerbate the discomfort of not knowing for the academic until they learn to be at ease:

> *The main reason it* [the *Engage* project] *has enhanced me professionally is that I am now quite comfortable with a bit of chaos. And particularly when chaos is part of the plan. A controlled setting is fine but I can work in an uncontrolled setting as well.*

Simply, liberating confidence arises from planning for, and surviving, 'mess' in CBPR.

In sum, there was plentiful data from across all participants that indicated a growth in confidence in how to be in CBPR settings. Despite Bernstein's contention that enhancement entails a discipline, it appeared that other forms of liminality within CBPR pedagogical spaces were, in some instances, enough to enhance. A social impact related to re/discovered confidence was re/discovered voice.

5.1.2.2 Re/discovered voice

As previously noted, 'processing spaces' provided environments for project teams to critically reflect. Beyond this, the emancipatory nature of CBPR pedagogical spaces meant that those outside project teams – service users, local community members – participated, so building the power of research relationships. Knowledge production

resources were redistributed to communities previously marginalised from research. As one volunteer commented, "*I do believe that it* [CBPR] *gives a voice to the voiceless*".

Volunteers and charity workers were attuned to the Freirian ideals of CBPR, readily noting the empowerment it brought themselves and others. This empowerment was not necessarily a 'gift' from the powerful to the powerless rather, a re/activation of voice through participation in research:

> *If you're trying to do the research and build you know, infrastructure or build a sense of kind of community or whatever, it* [CBPR] *was really beneficial in both those ways. So, you got the research done, but you did it in a way that spread it out and got lots of people involved and lots of people felt they had some stake in it and had something to say about it.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *The fact that they've* [a service user] *you know gone on to do this scriptwriting course and, yeah, just feel recognised as someone who has skills and input, that's important. They have really, really benefitted from that. They've sort of shown their leadership skills.*
>
> (Charity worker)

The participatory bent of CBPR, in raising individuals' voices, built 'relational practices' (Dodge & Ospina, 2016) within organisations, augmenting democratic remits and delimiting potential for epistemic injustices. Pedagogical relations within CBPR social arenas provided spaces, and afforded social positions, for VCSO participants to unleash their everyday knowledge – their voice – in ways that were enhancing.

Several academics were keenly aware of their role in facilitating voice, of catalysing communities to understand power struggles and to take action, a crucial aspect of social justice-oriented pedagogical spaces. One talked of 'empowerment' as part of their professional approach – "*it's part of a general strategy I've got about trying to find better*

ways of empowering people". Another discussed their role in preparing and encouraging service users as peer interviewers:

> *We were building up their confidence in doing that. I mean they were a little anxious about doing the interviews themselves at times but I think once we got those first transcripts back, they were, 'Oh, are they alright'? You know, they were asking the question, 'Was the transcripts alright'? And it was like, 'Alright? These are bloody brilliant!'*

In these instances, the academics ignited the capacity of 'weaker' partners to take control of the research.

This leads to a final theme from the dataset with regards social impacts at the individual level – re/discovery of the research process.

5.1.2.3 Re/discovered research process

Engage enabled VCSO participants to learn more about research concepts and practices. Projects broke research stereotypes abounding in VCSOs. Several VCSO participants had prior experiences of 'traditional' social research where academics acted as 'objective' consultants, extracting data from them. The experience of participatory research therefore challenged what they thought they 'knew' research to be:

> *I learnt a huge amount about the participatory-based research process and data. We absolutely loved the kind of methodology of putting data together and theming it and all that sort of stuff; we really got into that.*
>
> (Charity worker)

Three of the five *Engage* projects – Creative, Education, and Play – utilised creative research methods and analyses. The flexibility, creativity, and informality inherent to these methods aligned with ways of working in smaller VCSOs and again, challenged received versions of research:

> *I did think, 'Oh, they're* [the academic] *gonna think, 'Crikes!'' … because all of that* [creative research methods] *opens up a whole vast kind of world of interpretation. But, no, they were right alongside with that. They were surprisingly enthusiastic on that process.*
>
> (Charity worker)

The accessibility and participatory nature of creative methods proved empowering for it made the VCSOs aware that they were already producing research data in their day-to-day, and now possessed the skills to analyse it; "*by doing the research we realised how much of this type of research that we actually already do"* (Charity worker). The VCSOs therefore transitioned from knowledge consumer to knowledge producer roles.

As Bernstein would have it, VCSO participants learnt the recognition and realisation rules of creative methods. Given their existing comfort with creativity, learning the 'rules-of-the-game' and how to take part presented less of a leap than if they had conducted a 'traditional' research project where recognition and realisation rules might have felt more 'alien'.

For a couple of academics, inspiring others to do research and demystifying the research process – revealing its messy essence – were core motivators:

> *The reality of research is that the end product is a very polished end product with the warts, you know, carefully pared off. And, so, I think one of the things that they* [the VCSO] *learned was that research is relatively ordinary. That it's accessible to them and it's not this wonderful thing that people in ivory towers do.*
>
> *It is all about demystifying the pretentiousness of certain aspects of research. And making it easily available and why wouldn't you want to do that? Because if everyone could do research which they can, that means more critical thinking.*

This demystification – supporting others to access recognition and realisation rules – enabled VCSO participants to see themselves as researchers, coming to know new ways of being and doing within pedagogical spaces. For these participants, practice involved developing research skills and an appreciation and understanding of the various stages of the research process:

> *We learnt a lot about how to do research which again is really important and very valuable for the future and it was great for us to be able to have that time to work as a team. So, I think we got to know our own practice much deeper.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *At a point when we had all the data and thought we'd gathered some really good data, we learned how to analyse that data.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *I think the charity has probably just gained an appreciation of, and also the skills needed to do, research that can benefit them.*
>
> (Volunteer)

The majority of academics involved in *Engage* were new to CBPR and the programme demystified the approach for them; they too positioned as learners of recognition and realisation rules within CBPR pedagogical spaces. Involvement in the programme enabled: clarity as to their specific role in the approach (cross-reference Section 5.2.1); identification of appropriate collaborative practice; and appreciation of CBPR's impacts.

Re: collaborative practice, a couple of academics commented that the need for compromise and shifting circumstances meant divestment of their control, positioning at odds with more 'traditional' social research:

I think it's about the specific intention to compromise. To say, 'You know what? I'm not going to run this in my way' … I can't just say, 'Here's how we're gonna do it'.

Because we constantly have to change things and we always had a rough idea of where we were going, but there was never a complete 100% delineation of, 'This is exactly what we are doing'. We had rough ideas of what we were going to do each session and then they would change based on circumstances.

Other academics mentioned the need to foster meaningful research relationships through careful facilitation and demonstration of being a team player:

It definitely taught me a lot about the ways that you do it. You know, what it means to do it in a meaningful way and the effort that it requires to do it and the work that it requires to do it, to support people, to make sure that you're all pulling in the right, the same, direction.

It requires a really specific sort of skillset that draws on some of the other points that I've put like the kind of communication skills, having patience, things like that. I guess it's the same thing. I've put team player and collaborator and I guess being a team player within collaboration is important.

Engage provided a chance for academics to challenge received versions of 'traditional' social research and to recognise the 'compassionate consciousness' lying behind CBPR. This proved striking for one academic who dedicated their memory story to their powerful learning about the use of peer interviewers:

So, the moment really for me was the moment that the transcripts came back. I recall this moment in great detail. It was the powerful realisation half-way through the project that we were really onto something. It struck me that this co-produced project with volunteers from the organisation undertaking interviews wasn't just a nice thing to be doing – it was an approach that really yielded powerful research data. The insider status of the interviewers meant that they had already formed trusting relationships with the people they were interviewing. The interviewees

> *were so open in the transcripts and it was clear to me that this community based participatory approach was the best way to capture data about the impact of the group. As I was reading, I got really excited as the participants' narratives were really powerful. They shared really kind of intimate details of their mental health challenges and the benefits they experienced when they attended the group and it struck me that these interviews were excellent, and I wondered if I could have captured this detail myself.*

The academic's starting position was normative scepticism over the rigour of the CBPR approach, dismissing it as a 'nice' thing to do. For them, realisation that the approach unleashed 'powerful research data' – that the peer interviewers, through their 'insider' status, accessed data that they could not – was revelatory.

Through *Engage*, charity workers, volunteers, and academics re/discovered CBPR as a research process, learning the recognition and realisation rules that demarcate it from 'traditional' social research and that are required to navigate it successfully. Once again, this proved enhancing without entailing a discipline.

I now turn to the second of Bernstein's pedagogic rights – the right of inclusion.

5.2 The right of inclusion

The right of inclusion is the right for individuals to be included socially, intellectually, culturally, and personally whilst still maintaining their autonomy. As a collaborative practice, inclusion is at the core of CBPR and was evident across my dataset. *How* you do CBPR is as important as *what* you do; approach shapes both outcomes and identities. Particularly, collaborative practices shape specialised identities that arise from CBPR social arenas "through relations which the identity enters into with other identities of reciprocal recognition, support and legitimation and finally through a negotiated collective purpose" (Bernstein, 2001: 366). These relations are crucial to social justice-oriented pedagogical spaces.

I now present examples of collaborative practices, the pedagogical relations therein, and implications of these for identities. I then analyse the social impacts arising from inclusion through contrasting a 'gold standard' CBPR project with one that was not.

5.2.1 Evidence for the right of inclusion

Evidence for the right of inclusion, of challenging unequal distributions of power and resources within CBPR pedagogical spaces, was rife in the dataset. As asserted in Chapter Two, relational dialectics at the core of CBPR pedagogical spaces can be conceived as interactions between 'masters' and 'apprentices', roles that may alternate between participants so as to delimit epistemic injustices. Relational dialectics require responsive conversations and for participants to adopt learning stances (i.e. apprentice roles). The vast majority did this, learning about self, others, and research, as evidenced in Section 5.1. Data presented in that section also demonstrates that, in the most part, masters disrupted and facilitated apprentices' learning whilst supporting them to re/discover confidence in themselves as knowledgeable practitioners. In the next two sections, I explore evidence for apprentice and master roles across the dataset.

5.2.1.1 Adopting the 'apprentice' role

An apprentice role marks a lower status, one of lesser power. The majority of academics engaged reflexively about power relations and in so doing, recognised the greater power they wielded due to their professional roots in the academy. As such, they actively divested themselves of their discursive power to adopt an apprentice role:

> *I aimed to relinquish some of the power to* [charity worker] *and to see them as powerful within their own sphere.*

> *I also like the feminist work we wanna do and like the feminist kind of orientation. It is so focussed on power imbalance and understanding the way in which power operates. Not just in terms of the topics that we look at but also in terms of the research process. So, what is it about being a responsible researcher and what does that mean?*

This was not only about divesting power to collaborators within project teams but also, to other participants in the research process. In one project, an academic took their dog along to the research site to reduce their discursive power with relation young people:

> *The dog was the best research assistant in the world because the young people didn't think of me as a 'researcher' or 'academic'. They thought of me as the dog's keeper or walker or mum ... And they chatted away to me; he was the most amazing icebreaker.*

The academic weakened classifications and framings within the research setting as a means to stimulate micro-power. Their action stymied 'power over' perspectives in favour of 'power for', appropriate given the participatory bent of the project.

Interestingly, in one instance an academic spoke of their expertise as a source of embarrassment, a fear that its overt display might be awkward for their collaborator:

> *I think in the Engage role you want to communicate your ideas and demonstrate what you can bring to the project in a way that's really manageable and understandable without being patronising … I don't like to make other people feel awkward and there were times that I felt embarrassed by my expertise.*

The consequence of repressing expertise could be to undermine both self and other's confidence in it. Indeed, one academic cautioned:

> *True partnership does not mean to give your power away to make the other person feel better about themselves. Or be embarrassed or ashamed of your own power and autonomy and skills and what you are bringing to that partnership.*

Without doubt, at the outset of a collaboration, a university will possess greater discursive power than a smaller VCSO. Indeed, it is the very power of universities that make them attractive to VCSOs in the first instance (Stevens, 2013):

We're always very interested to work with the University because that adds – you know, it's a big, well-respected institution, so we obviously want to be part of that.

(Charity worker)

Literature about collaborations often focuses on the importance of levelling power relations yet paradoxically, if universities downplay their power too much or appear, or are, embarrassed by their own expertise, this may make them less attractive to VCSOs.

An either explicit or implicit (self-)positioning of VCSOs as apprentices at the outset of collaborations was evident across the dataset:

This organisation's been going so long, that we just got to the point of it just needs more. It just needs a different perspective. It deserves to be able to actually have that level of kind of academic input and output I suppose.

(Charity worker)

It [*Engage*] *was an opportunity to learn and we had the funding and we were successful in getting the funding and this was giving us space to be able to continue learning. It's like professional development in a way.*

(Charity worker)

Defaulting as apprentices might make VCSOs reticent to share their knowledge (Stevens, 2013). If they perceive themselves as 'students' learning from an 'expert', classification is strong and restricts mutually beneficial exchange. To enable inclusion and participation in CBPR pedagogical spaces, academics must weaken classifications and framings through divesting power, catalysing VCSO participants' voices and confidence so that they may take action.

One volunteer produced a memory story that illustrated their initial apprentice positioning, and their emergent realisation that their everyday knowledge was valued

as much as abstract within CBPR. As their project progressed, they realised that an "*imbalance in status (me as a volunteer and with no formal scientific background)*" was in play with their academic but that it could be redressed. This was an "*eye opener*" as they learnt to value their own "*knowledge of local conditions*" and of their research issue. Prior to this:

> *It would not have occurred to me to follow my own agenda in the face of alternative suggestions from someone* [the academic] *with more experience of research than myself and who was also in a formal role (as opposed to mine and the other locals as a volunteer and – in my case – an amateur).*

Here the volunteer demeans their own role as informal, paralleling contentions made by Kreutzer & Jager (2011) and Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis (2016b) that volunteer ways are commonly marked as amateur. Given the contradictory identity dimensions that exist within VCSOs (cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.8), volunteers within CBPR settings are confronted by two sets of 'professionals' – academics and charity workers – which may lead to their being more likely to adopt apprentice roles and repress their own knowledge; they risk being disadvantaged by power dynamics within the VCSOs for which they volunteer as well as by those within their CBPR project. Concerted effort will likely be required to transition volunteers to master roles.

This section demonstrates the complexity of power relations between differently positioned professional participants within CBPR pedagogical spaces. Power is fluid, moving across and between different participants. As a professional role, academics are positioned as most powerful and so have to actively divest power if they are to adopt the apprentice role. Conversely, volunteers operate from the lowest professional base, more likely to be conceived as amateurs compared to their charity worker counterparts. A default positioning as an apprentice could lead to epistemic injustices unless those functioning from lower professional bases are able to adopt master roles.

5.2.1.2 Adopting the 'master' role

A common manifestation of the master role across the dataset was that of collaborative leader. Whilst only one participant used the actual term, three of the five projects (Creative, Play, and Phobia) demonstrated plentiful evidence of participants – whether charity workers, volunteers or academics – adopting collaborative leadership practices.

One academic spoke of their collaborative leadership skills in varied ways:

> *It was taking a lead but making sure that it was led by all of us as well.*
>
> *The skill of being able to collaborate in teams I think is something that I really developed. So, I've taken a bit of a lead in a team but doing it in a really collaborative way – I think that was a good learning opportunity for me.*
>
> *The importance of being able to take a lead at times and push things forward when it was needed. So, although we had that kind of collaborative approach, I still needed at times to kind of push things forward and arrange meetings and get things together.*

The first quote demonstrates the shared ownership and direction that collaborative leadership entails, the second that collaborative leadership is a distinct style from traditional 'top-down' leadership, and the third, the sense of responsibility to project and people that collaborative leadership imbues.

In another project an academic, reflexively aware of their powerful professional positioning as a Professor, worked within the power asymmetries that this positioning produced whilst simultaneously challenging them through collaborative leadership practices. Their success in this was illustrated by an image that a volunteer from the project produced:

Figure 8: A visual artefact submitted by a volunteer

The volunteer explained that the Professor had scaffolded the VCSO members of the project team to their 'level' through recognition and valuing of diverse knowledge and experiences, whether they be: fresh perspectives; frontline experience, or knowledge of the VCSO and its goals. This recognition and valuing of diverse experiences amongst heterogenous communities enabled all to be masters within the pedagogical space. The volunteer noted the academic:

> *Quickly made me feel at ease by treating my ideas for the research as equally important and talking to me in a non-patronising and humorous and honest way.*

A charity worker involved in the project concurred:

> *There was no pecking order, so there were no intimidations. There was no politics. We were all on the same side … we were all equal, we were all making an equal contribution.*

Informality within the pedagogical space generated communicative spaces for dialogue amongst participants so that common ground could be found. With weak classifications and framings disrupting identities, the value of a collaborative leader was to provide a supportive environment where people felt safe to express new ways of being and doing, with those structurally less powerful enacting their micro-power.

VCSO participants took collaborative leadership roles across *Engage*, an explicit demonstration of micro-power. In several instances, leadership was activated by perceived need to support, or facilitate access to, service users in the research process, and to ensure their safety:

> *We just feel so protective of everyone we work with. It* [the research] *is a risk, because you feel responsible. It's like letting someone in your home, you know, that you then need to make sure everything's okay.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *I'm always conscious in my support of them* [service users] … *I suppose I kind of hold them always in a place of, trying to keep them well and safe, and you know, 'Have they got enough support?'*
>
> (Charity worker)

Many of the VCSO participants advised academics on how, and how not, to engage their service users with research so that methodologies devised were appropriate and effective. They thus acted as collaborative leaders through consolidating diverse groups.

I was struck by two explicit examples of micro-power – one by a volunteer, and one by a charity worker – that added to the efficacy of relational practices across collaborations, so helping to build shared visions within social justice-oriented pedagogical spaces. The volunteer acted as a peer researcher in their project and kept their informant group notified of project progress throughout. This included taking pictures at project team meetings to share with the group so that they could put names to faces, as well as explaining in detail the participatory data analysis that the project team assumed. As the volunteer noted:

> *I think that gave them* [the informant group] *confidence as well, knowing how what they had contributed had been used and they felt much more a part of it and I was so pleased that I'd done that.*

In the second case, a charity worker who was a line manager of several people involved in *Engage*, fostered productive pedagogical relations and discussions with reference the project *within* their own organisation. For example, they made a point of reading relevant academic texts so that they could deal with questions their peers asked:

> [A charity worker] *kept firing these questions at me and I kind of wanted to understand it from both sides. I could answer from* [the VCSO's] *perspective but sometimes that didn't feel quite enough. I kind of felt as though I wanted to know the other side of it a little bit.*

They were therefore willing and able to cross the sacred-profane divide to support another's learning and in so doing, to enhance their own.

These examples show how micro-power may be leveraged to support others. In bringing their agency to the table, the participants fostered communion. The examples also remind that support need not come from without an organisation. There was nothing to suggest that the academics within the respective projects were aware that the volunteer and charity worker had taken these actions. With the focus on cross-sector collaborations within CBPR and on learning across boundaries, it is easy to forget that behaviours and actions *within* organisations may nurture or indeed, constrain, the collaborative whole.

The need to cultivate collaborative leaders within CBPR is evident when you consider the 'mess' of pedagogical spaces. Weakened classifications and framings not only disrupt participants' identities but also, leave them struggling with recognition and realisation rules, with understanding context and how best to engage. Through nurturing safe environments, collaborative leaders support participants through the 'mess' to identify who they now are and how best to act.

In sum, master-apprentice relational practices provided examples of power moving fluidly across and between different positioned professional participants, often in ways

that supported collaborative endeavours. The dataset also revealed many relations marked by informality, even friendship, with varied consequences.

5.2.1.3 Informal and friendly relations

Weaker classifications and framings allowed for informal, affective relationships to arise across some *Engage* projects. Weakened boundaries between academics, charity workers, and volunteers meant that those – particularly the less powerful – could take 'risks' and speak genuinely:

> *It just felt like we were all comfortable with saying what we thought and giving our ideas and I just think that wouldn't have been the same without us being friends alongside it.*
>
> (Volunteer)

As Bernstein (2000) argues, power relations between categories regulate voice. Given CBPR practice is reliant on sharing of knowledge, experiences, and ideas, it is imperative that classification is weak to enable voice. In this volunteer's case, they linked informal relations to their ability to generate, and voice, more innovative ideas:

> *I think because of that* [informality]*, we came up with some more kind of inventive ideas like one thing was I actually, there was a conference and I was kind of thinking like, 'Would that be a good place to recruit?' I probably wouldn't have suggested it because I thought it was maybe a bit silly. But I just mentioned it as a potential idea, and then I ended up flying over to the conference to recruit.*

The informality of some projects enabled friendships to flourish, a counter to the emotional distance of 'traditional' social research:

> *I mean, if you don't like them* [the academic]*, there's something wrong with you anyway!*

(Charity worker)

> *It felt much more kind of personal in terms of how we were interacting. But at the same time having that sense of personal communication and personal relationship but still at the end of it being able to get what I thought were kind of some really interesting findings.*

(Academic)

> *I think* [the academic] *gave me their mobile phone number early on and said, 'Oh, just ring me, you know if you've got anything to talk about that's fine give me a ring'. That's quite a level of trust there … a sort of good relationship has been developed over our period of time working together.*

(Charity worker)

> *They're a great organisation and were a really easy group to work with. They're nice people and it's an ongoing collaboration as well so I'm still in touch with* [charity worker] *at the moment about looking at different projects that we could put in funding proposals for.*

(Academic)

It is difficult to assess how illusory or not friendships were given that *Engage* was time-limited and all involved foregrounded their professional obligations (Mayan & Daum, 2016). However, whether illusory or not, positive personal relationships boosted enjoyability, opening participants' receptivity to learning:

> *It is a pleasure to be in their* [the academic's] *company and due to that I found myself open to experience and learning things that were totally unexpected before I started the project.*

(Charity worker)

Personal commitment was also enhanced. One volunteer initially agreed to help out for a fixed period but then chose to participate throughout as, "*I just enjoyed working alongside the team*". Despite serious health conditions, another ensured they attended project meetings as they did not want to let their team down:

> *With my health problems as they are, it can be challenging enough … but I was determined to go and not let anybody down because they were such a great team.*

Indeed, I was struck by the level of affective language used by many participants; their experiences were keenly felt and whilst in the large part positive, there were undoubted challenges. Several referred to the collaborative process as draining and time-intensive:

> *It took so much out of* [volunteer] *and me, and I know* [volunteer] *gave 100 percent. I've worked really hard on this, and it's exhausted the core of my being.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *I hadn't anticipated how time-intensive it* [CBPR] *is and there's a lot of extra labour that goes into it that's not then recorded in terms of time.*
>
> (Academic)

Apparent across several academics' data was the personal responsibility they felt to keep things going, investing considerable time and energy in 'holding' collaborations:

> *But I felt like I had to kind of be the one right the way through attending every meeting.*

> *I said about the additional labour that's not put down in terms of the times and some of that's quite emotional and some of it's quite practical, like just going along and being there. When people said, 'Oh do you wanna come along to things?', and sometimes I'm like 'Yeah course I do' and I do want to. I just then have that moment*

afterwards where I'm like 'Oh God, should I? Is that a good use of my time? Is that what I should be doing?'

For this latter academic, a source of guilt existed over whether they were performing a normative (read: corporate) academic identity, intimating 'symbolic violence' (Burke et al, 2017) to conform. And yet, the same academic also identified a conflicting source – that they were not giving as much as they 'should':

Because I felt stretched myself and I wasn't willing to give up on it [the project]. *But I then felt a bit guilty about the actual level of investment I was giving it.*

Mayan & Daum (2016) suggest that feelings of guilt may arise during CBPR. My data indicates that this guilt may lie in quandaries over identity – tensions between 'principled' personal projects and corporate identities. In this instance, the academic struggled to psychically split (Archer, 2008b), to balance doing the neoliberal whilst retaining a social justice embedded identity.

In the dataset there was one example of how an emerging friendship between academic and charity worker led to a blunting of the former's critique:

I definitely tempered the critique and I would definitely temper the critique if I was writing about [the VCSO] *because I feel like a personal investment as well in them. I would never want to be like what they were doing is detrimental.*

(Academic)

A single example but I include it as evidence of an oft-cited critique about losing objectivity through closeness to research participants. The academic's personal investment in the VCSO meant they feared guilt from a large-scale critique; weakened boundaries meant they could not disassociate from the impacts of such a critique. Note though that they refer to a *tempering* of critique rather than a complete loss; a position akin to 'critical friend' would appear possible. And strengthening friendship might enhance the other's acceptance of critique.

As demonstrated across Section 5.2.1, weakened classifications and framings within CBPR pedagogical spaces allow for relational dialectics and processes that disrupt originating professional identities and that allow specialised identities to arise. Bernstein notes the requirements of reciprocal recognition, support, and legitimation for specialised identities, all of which were evident in the dataset – the recognition of multiple voices and divergent perspectives through the levelling of power relations and collaborative leadership practices; the development of supportive, informal environments (processing spaces) where participants felt safe and empowered to take risks as they 'became'; and the legitimation of the 'other' through the activation of voice and embrace of the affective.

Specialised identities emerge from processes that build solidarity and togetherness – the communitas that Bernstein states the condition of inclusion. Next, I consider the social impacts arising from this condition.

5.2.2 Social impacts arising from inclusion

Communitas refers to a sense of belonging amongst a community of equals who, in CBPR, experience liminality within pedagogical spaces. During that liminality, a sense of collective purpose (theorised by Bernstein as a constituting factor of specialised identities) may help the communitas survive turbulence. As such, communitas is an outcome of inclusion.

In their model of social impact, Beckett et al (2018) make a similar observation that it is collaborative relationships between academics and practitioners – their improved efficacy through mutual trust and understanding – that comprise social impacts at the group, micro-level.

I have evidenced across Section 5.2.1 the inter and intra-sector relational dialectics found in *Engage*. In this section, I contrast two projects that illustrated the impacts of relational dynamics and consider how paradoxical unity / diversity tensions in cross-

sector collaborations were managed. One project met the 'gold standard' of CBPR, the other fell short.

5.2.2.1 The 'gold standard': Could it be 'magic'?

Creative built a great sense of communitas as reported by charity workers, academics, and volunteers alike. The project was infused with emancipatory forces combining collaborative leadership skills with strong, interpersonal, affective relations. The project team worked collaboratively throughout the entire research process, including the data analysis and report writing stages, and peer interviewers were involved. Thus, the project was able to produce different knowledge, differently, within a social justice-oriented pedagogical space.

Participants reported their experiences in various positive ways:

> *I think it's about all coming together you know for a collective purpose and having an interest in that. And shared collective interest 'cause they* [the academics] *were interested too in the outcomes, in what would come out of the interviews.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *What made it fun? Lots of things. The personalities. We all got on really well. And if somebody would come up with something, it would be listened to so there was no such thing as a daft idea. We'd talk about it and it was, I suppose, a safe place to question things.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *We couldn't have done it* [the project] *without each other. But, actually, what happened was interestingly, the further we got along – and I'd have loved it if someone had been almost there visiting us throughout the whole process – by the end of it you might not have been able to tell when you walked into the room who the academics were and who the participants were.*

(Charity worker)

I think we're all quite an open lot … We were very open and hopefully quite transparent about who we are.

(Charity worker)

I put something about being able to recognise talents across the group, what people brought, their expertise across that. The importance of showing your commitment to it, that we're gonna produce something meaningful at the end of it.

(Academic)

From these quotes, shared collective purpose and interest in research appears integral to communitas as does an informal, fun nature that allows participants to feel safe and to take 'risks'. A participatory approach transcending both research practices and decision-making means all can feel equal, power freely easily across and between differently positioned professional participants. The quotes also reveal that the project successfully held paradoxical unity / diversity tensions. As one of the charity workers observed, at the project's conclusion an outsider might not have been able to tell who the academics and who the VCSO participants. This suggests specialised, unifying identities emerged through the collaboration. Yet crucially, inclusion did not come with a loss of autonomy; participants brought their agency to the table and respective differences and expertise were valued in the collaboration:

We all brought something a little bit different to it [the research] *… this was about us all doing something and doing a project together, all bringing bits and doing different bits of it.*

(Academic)

In successfully holding unity / diversity tensions, participants felt comfortable to adopt specialised identities – to imagine themselves in new ways – without fear of compromising their originating professional identities. Ultimately, this meant that the project could achieve communion and things that "*we knew that we couldn't do without each other*" (Charity worker).

In explaining why the communitas worked well, both an academic and a volunteer passed it off as 'magic':

> *There's a bit of magic in there I think really about how it worked. I think it was about all of us having that commitment to it from the start to finish. We didn't have anybody that was attached to it that didn't pull their weight on it.*
>
> (Academic)

> *Magic brought us together! It's really difficult to explain but it did. It just did. There was no confrontation. Yes, it just worked really well with everybody.*
>
> (Volunteer)

A truly effective, smooth-running collaboration is perhaps such a rare thing that there does appear something 'magical' about it when achieved. I would argue that the source of this 'magic' is effective collaborative leadership, the successful holding of unity / diversity tensions directed at a shared collective purpose and underpinned by pedagogical relations that support, recognise, and legitimate. Achievement of this 'magical' concoction within a pedagogical space enables the outcomes reported earlier – for example, the re/discovery of voice or of research, the re-authoring of self, and changes to professional practice. It facilitates development of emerging mastery to constitute the communitas, of critical reflection and critical consciousness that emancipates. Such 'magic' is not easy to achieve.

5.2.2.2 When 'magic' is absent

A project that struggled to build cross-sector communitas, as evidenced by stories and interviews from the participants involved, was Environment. The project comprised an environmental advocacy group, an unincorporated association, that wanted to investigate the impact of the school run on their local area.

A first area of difficulty was that the academic did not resolve how best to be in the project:

> *I did explicitly early on have that conversation and say you know, 'Which of these do you want? These are the relationships we could have. You could just use me as sounding board. You could use me as a critical friend. You could ask me to come in and solve your problems for you.' We had all those possible options on the table but I don't think we ever quite resolved which one.*

Note that they did not offer a collaborator role, a willingness to learn on an equal footing throughout the research process. Indeed, the academic could not imagine collaborating with the VCSO participants as they were not 'professional' researchers; they lacked "*a shorthand, an understanding of philosophy … all that sort of unspoken stuff*". This is a clear indication of the epistemic injustice that ran throughout the project. The academic's professional status led to their diminishing of VCSO participants' knowledges. For the academic, the lack of common experience and training meant they felt the professional boundary impossible to cross; their professional identity constrained their ability to imagine themselves in new ways. Rather, they looked to share their expertise with the VCSO in didactic fashion, to retain strong framing and positioning as master:

> *I hope this doesn't sound conceited, but I know a load of stuff. I've spent more time thinking about some of these issues than almost anyone else and have probably distilled the fact from the fiction and worked out what matters in some issues. More than other people have had the leisure to do. And it's a shame not to make as much use of that as possible.*

Whilst no doubt well-meaning, this approach, with its strong classification and framing, left little room for message variation and prevented the possibility of building communitas around a voyage of shared discovery. The academic kept distant from the VCSO so that deeper knowing between collaborators became impossible:

> *I went into this* [*Engage*] *assuming it would be relatively infrequent contact, that the group would go off and do things in between seeing me … I imagined they would get on with things and essentially dip into me from time to time. I think it mostly worked out that way.*

The academic's resistance to a collaborator role was linked to their epistemological positioning, their reification of objective consciousness over compassionate. They spoke of their fear of 'walking the line' between academic work and advocacy; if they partook in the thing they studied, others might criticise them as "*too intimately involved*". For *Engage*, which culminated with a dissemination event at the local Council, the academic believed:

> *My role was to provide some scientific credibility to what they* [the VCSO] *were saying. It probably is important that a person in my position is not intimately part of the group because the credibility would be diminished potentially.*

The academic's distance was thus strategic, yet they were sensitive to some of the issues it caused, hence their helping with data collection to show willing (cross-reference Section 5.1.1.1) although in their mind, they had "*never imagined doing that*". Yet as one of the volunteers observed:

> *You know, in a sense, if you're doing it* [CBPR] *through the auspices of a kind of community group, what you want is someone to feel like they're part of that community group, rather than an external.*

A second area of difficulty was a challenge in reconciling ambitions for the research. The VCSO was advocacy-oriented and wanted to tackle the problem of traffic in the local

area yet the academic's consul was that they must first prove there was an issue with the traffic, that evidence-informed advocacy would be more powerful:

> *The argument I used that seemed to work was a slightly placatory, 'Look I'm totally sure you're right but you need to remember there'll be people who don't want to hear your message and who can block any actions you want to take so you need to get everything watertight enough to persuade them'.*

Here we have another act of epistemic injustice, with the academic's expertise overriding decision making by the volunteers. What this approach did was demean the everyday knowledge of the volunteers. These volunteers 'knew' there was an issue with traffic and so proving what they already 'knew' to be the case rather than tackling the issue, smarted:

> *I knew I was right. I had been watching that traffic for such a long time. I didn't feel like I needed to prove it to anybody because me, I've seen it for ten years … Let's not waste our time on this. Let's get on to the next thing of solving it.*

The volunteers felt their everyday knowledge belittled by the abstract; they were undermined as knowledgeable practitioners:

> *I felt* [the academic] *'undid' what I had to say. Took it apart and made it seem silly, not believable, as though I had made it up.*

Evidently, power was not equalised in the project; the community members did not feel empowered to resist the overall direction set by the academic. Participation was enacted instrumentally and given that ultimate power remained with the academic, power bases were not transformed. Despite this, there were moments of micro-power, of participants seizing agency. For example, the volunteers created a visual display of 1000 toy cars at the Council dissemination event to demonstrate the scale of the traffic problem in their local area. But there remained an overarching absence of collaborative leadership in the project, and the academic maintained a master role.

In sum, communitas in Environment was stymied by strong classifications and framings that prevented the development of unifying specialised identities; the unity / diversity tension was not held. The academic looked to support the community through pedagogical relations but their top-down approach and distance blocked relations that recognised and legitimised. The project's pedagogical space was riven with epistemic injustices that reinforced inequalities. Whilst the original intent may have been participatory, the practice was anything but.

I now turn to the final of Bernstein's pedagogic rights – the right of participation.

5.3 The right of participation

The right of participation is the right for individuals to make a difference in social worlds through civic practice. It is the means by which people enact their agency through the civic discussion and action that is pivotal to democratic societies. In using their knowledge for action and in sharing it widely, individuals act as agents of change, deepening democracy and forging a fairer world.

'Gold standard' CBPR projects are designed to foster participation; social change through action and participation is their motivating goal. Praxis knowledge that arises should be usable by all in CBPR, enhancing both abstract and everyday knowledges and so transforming both the academy and communities.

The rights of enhancement and inclusion at the micro-level are crucial to the right of participation. In developing new ways of knowing and being through communitas rooted in social justice-oriented pedagogical spaces, individuals become primed to take action. Transformative synergies at the micro-level therefore seed meso and macro-level changes.

However, as noted in Chapter Two, Section 2.5.2, participation may be co-opted by the neoliberal and depoliticised, generating outcomes serving knowledge economy rather than knowledge democracy. Instead of being activist, challenging or changing dominant power relations and structures, actions come to focus on transforming institutional

practices, impacting systems rather than life worlds, and reproducing privilege and inequality. In Section 5.3.2, I explore whether this was the case in *Engage* but first, I discuss evidence for the right of participation across the programme.

5.3.1 Evidence for the right of participation

As previously posited, three of the projects – Creativity, Phobia, and Play – followed the participatory ideals of CBPR, with Environment and Education veering towards consultancy approaches. Across sections 5.1 and 5.2, I have provided plentiful evidence of participants' identities evolving in part due to participatory practices. But simply to possess civic behaviours does not necessarily mean they are enacted. Bernstein (2000) contends that a condition of an effective knowledge democracy is that people should *feel* they have a stake in society. Feeling that you have a stake does not necessarily mean that you do, nor that you will act based on that feeling.

Having said that, *Engage* was readied to forge social change in a couple of ways. First, through the social change orientations of participating organisations. As explained in Chapter One, VCSOs can be conceived as 'schools of democracy' (Dodge & Ospina, 2016) and universities may have civic missions that support social change. VCSO participants were certainly motivated by social change, keen for their research to make a difference:

> *I think that most people who work in charities, they're the sort of organisations where you do want to make social change, you do want to make change in people's lives, you do care. You know you don't do it for the money, you know … you've just got to have such a belief and passion in what you're doing.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *We wanted to be able to analyse what was good and what wasn't so good about our work so we could improve on it for the beneficiaries, for the people we were working with.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *I wanted the end result of reduced pollution to help all those people's health, and mine, and future generations … and if our research helps put pressure on somebody, somewhere, let's hope it can have an effect.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *I think it goes back down to people's ethos and values, and the fact that we* [the VCSO] *are on the whole quite angry. So, you've got a whole group of people that are just very angry and really want to change things.*
>
> (Volunteer)

As an approach, CBPR supported framing and relational practices within VCSOs and the University. Most pedagogical spaces generated were democratic, enabling participants to challenge norms (e.g. for academics to challenge 'traditional' social research practices), to find new ways of knowing and common cause in pursuit of social change.

Secondly, *Engage* concluded with a dissemination event at the local Council, which 100+ local influencers, funders, and decision-makers attended. The projects showcased their research and resultant outputs through presentations and market stalls. Advocacy and networking were implicit; some of the impacts arising from the event are discussed in the next section. Additionally, VCSOs used other avenues for social change through their respective projects, also evidenced in the next section.

As Beckett et al (2018) contend, co-production of praxis knowledge requires the key principles of building reciprocal relationships, sharing power, and valuing the knowledge, perspectives, and skills of all participants. As these principles were not met in Education and Environment, praxis knowledge did not arise, yet social change still did. The change came from activism rather than praxis. As such, the projects did not enhance abstract knowledge, and deeper knowing was stifled. Criticality was lacking,

However, I have demonstrated across sections 5.1 and 5.2 the many and varied ways the principles were met in *Engage's* three most participatory projects, where collaboration and co-production was core to achievement:

> *We wouldn't have thought to do it* [the research] *in the way we did … and we definitely wouldn't have had the opportunity to produce, you know, a presentation and a film.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *Just to emphasise the importance of co-production … just being really collaborative throughout the process and having these meetings where we could all pitch in our ideas and talk about how to do it* [the research]*. And even though we'd come from lots of different backgrounds between the four of us, it did always feel like we were equal and able to contribute.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *I was really interested in, from a research perspective, the actual concept of social isolation and what that meant and why play was important … whereas to them* [the VCSO] *they had the metrics to show that and yet actually when we put those things – put things together we had a series of questions and sub-questions that allowed us both to kind of tap into the things that we felt were important.*
>
> (Academic)

> *It was while we were doing it* [the research] *and while we were interacting with each other that we all grew as people … They* [the academics] *know the research process but they haven't got a clue about working with vulnerable people and we know all about that and how to hold and communicate with those people and support them and empower them. But we didn't have a clue about how to put any of that sort of thing into a research structure or process.*
>
> (Charity worker)

In these quotes, we see the combination of everyday and abstract knowledges within pedagogical spaces to co-produce new praxis knowledge and to understand, and be in, the world in new ways. In some instances, such as in the last quote, it was also about the application of pre-existing knowledge in new ways in new spaces.

One charity worker was effusive as to the value of drawing on the abstract for their professional practice:

> *I would like more knowledge about working within this field and, actually, maybe I could take time out to research and sort of gain some of that knowledge, that insight. Kind of step back and look at the theory that surrounds this work … Sometimes* [the academic] *would crystallise something very succinctly and that would make me sort of go, 'Oh yeah, that's interesting. You're seeing this from a wider viewpoint, that's really helpful' … Having that sort of other eye on it* [the research issue] *from a practice concept and a theory concept is really valuable.*

The worker recognised the value of an alternative lens on their work, the 'problem-portable' nature of the abstract. In so doing, they were able to escape the oppression of day-to-day practices. And in Play, the academic brought abstract concepts about the philosophy of organic spontaneous play to the VCSO to encourage them to reflect critically on their existing practice rather than just to describe it, raising consciousness of different ways of doing.

Conversely, an academic spoke of the importance of understanding everyday knowledge to avoid making assumptions:

> *So, it's* [the research theme] *really complicated, but the only way you can really solve it is to get a better understanding, to be able to tune into the values of, the people that you're seeking to help and not just make assumptions if you're to challenge the status quo.*

This final point of challenging the status quo aligns with Freirian, emancipatory, knowledge democratic ideals. Across the next section, I consider the social impacts

arising from the right of participation and the extent to which these were either utilitarian or emancipatory, impacting either systems or life worlds.

5.3.2 Social impacts arising from participation

For Bernstein, the condition of participation is civic discourse, individuals seizing their agency to drive change at the political level. In their model of social impact, Beckett et al (2018) concur and note social impacts arising at: organisational / institutional (meso), societal / infrastructure (macro) and paradigmatic (macro) levels. Appendix Two outlines the outcomes that each of the *Engage* projects self-reported ahead of the Council dissemination event. Drawing on this and the dataset, I now present examples of meso and macro-level impacts.

5.3.2.1 Meso-level (organisational) impacts

The re/discovered confidence and voice of participants at the micro-level translated into enhanced organisational confidence and voice, a growth in relational practices. In sections 5.1.2.1 and 5.1.2.2, I presented evidence as to how VCSO participants acted on their enhanced confidence in ways that benefited organisations – for example, displaying a greater willingness to take risks and to be creative. As one charity worker put it, CBPR "*really has increased the value of what we do*".

Four of the five *Engage* projects focused on VCSOs' services and in so doing, validated and 'proved' them worthwhile. This was hugely significant:

> *We were suspecting and hoping that what we do is right. And then actually finding we are on the right tracks is a massive thing. Because you can have this doubt the whole time of, 'Could I do better? Could I do it differently? Am I doing everything I can for the groups that we work with? Or would it be better off just leaving it to someone else?' I think it's just really important for us as a team to think what we do is important and, I think it's* [the research] *given us confidence really. It definitely has me. I think even as far as saying, 'No, this is what we do and we're good at it,*

> *and actually we just need some of your money to do it now'. Whereas before I guess I was sort of, probably almost a little bit apologetic about asking for money.*
>
> (Charity worker)

Legitimisation of professional practice through research is empowering and may boost willingness to advocate. I also suggest that in smaller VCSOs, the re/discovery of confidence and voice at the micro-level has a disproportionate impact on the meso. With the smaller VCSOs in *Engage* having staff teams ranging in size from one person to five, increasing the confidence of a handful of individuals directly translated to significantly higher organisational confidence.

Engage necessitated participants working in larger project teams and this also carried organisational impact via enhanced relational practices. The worker in Phobia had been a lone worker for thirteen years, so the chance to work collaboratively proved a rare treat. And despite being part of a staff team of three, another worker commented:

> *We don't very often have the opportunity to do teamwork because you know,* [charity worker] *is doing their thing,* [charity worker] *is doing theirs and I'm doing mine and there isn't really anyone else to sit down … to talk through things. Whereas, in a group project like this, you can come back and go, 'I was thinking about that, what do you think?' And you've got that collaborative.*

This harks back to the value of a 'processing space', of the chance for reflection and review within pedagogical spaces that enhances framing practices and organisational learning. This experience was by no means uniform across *Engage*. In Environment, the VCSO was purely volunteer-run, so there was no organisational support to foster a 'processing space', and with the academic acting primarily as a consultant, no sense of cross-sector communitas. As a result, a volunteer commented:

> *Engage was very isolating, and lonely for me, and I think it goes back to it* [the VCSO] *being a small organisation that doesn't have any of the skills to support me.*

There was strong evidence that VCSOs aimed to use research findings and their new research skills to fulfil organisational objectives, particularly the evidencing of impact to satisfy existing, and secure new, funders:

> *There's almost a whole industry built up now on the back of measuring impact. So, I think it's a really growing field and we are more empowered to take part ourselves.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *I can say, 'We've been taking part in this research with the University and we have found that this is very beneficial for the people that we're working with'. And, obviously now that we've got services in* [Council area] *and my post is now funded by* [funder]*, I need to be able to say, 'There's evidence to prove that this is working', and I don't think we had that before.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *I think it's given them* [the VCSO] *evidence of funding, which is really important, which is basically why they wanted this research done … I think this is a foundation of evidence for you know, for them to get funding for different projects.*
>
> (Volunteer)

> *Whereas I think what this did was it meant that* [the VCSO] *have embraced the idea of outcomes … that moves them towards where you need to be for things like commissioners, because commissioners aren't just gonna give you money to do something that feels great. You've got to evidence it.*
>
> (Academic)

These quotes illustrate that VCSOs used pedagogical spaces in part to dance to neoliberal tunes and to impact systems worlds, reproducing the status quo. They

aligned their involvement in *Engage* to external accountabilities. Leal's (2007) concern about the co-option of CBPR as a form of depoliticised methodological instrumentalism appears apposite. Yet there was an important exception in the dataset – Environment.

As an unincorporated association unbeholden to any funder, Environment was not tainted by the culture of survivalism. As one of the volunteers observed:

> *Their* [the other VCSOs'] *research just seemed to validate and prove who they were and make them okay with it. Whereas … we weren't trying to prove we are worth having in the community; we were trying to change things.*

Environment was free to take on a conflictual rather than consensual civil society role, to carry out civic actions challenging dominant power relations and structures and impacting life worlds. As another volunteer noted:

> *I don't think* [the association] *will benefit directly because we're not thinking that way. It's about how we can benefit the community.*

The association could focus on social change rather than being distracted by organisational survival. And yet the nature of their collaboration or rather, the lack of it, meant this change driven by activism rather than praxis knowledge.

5.3.2.2 Macro-level (societal) impacts

Beckett et al (2018) conceive macro-level impacts as national in scale. *Engage* was imagined as driving change at the local political level yet one charity worker articulated how their project fed into a national picture:

> *So, in some small way, this work feeds into a bigger picture of a lot of people across the country trying to make the case for the work being valued and possibly put within policy for solutions for the problems that are existing in communities at the moment. And I feel like I'm part of that movement.*

The creative, co-produced bent of the projects resulted in the use of more diverse and accessible means of sharing outcomes, reaching those outside the academy who might otherwise not engage with research. For example, Education, Play, Environment, and Creative all produced project films that have since been viewed thousands of times. In addition, Environment developed exhibition materials (toy cars, posters and infographics) that featured in local arts festivals and were toured around local schools. They also ran a visioning event about the future of transport in the area which drew together residents, campaign groups, local councillors, and the local MP.

As an unincorporated association focused on environmental campaigning, Environment was well-placed to advocate and leverage societal change through activism. However, until *Engage*, the association had been little more than a talking shop:

> *We'd all get together and watch a film and go, 'That's awful but what can we do? There isn't much to do'. Whereas this* [*Engage*] *… galvanised, I suppose that's the word.*
>
> (Volunteer)

Engage mobilised the association giving them permission to 'do'. This somewhat counters Stoecker's (2012) warning not to confuse research for action. In this instance, the participatory nature of the research activated a previously dormant association which subsequently discovered its campaigning strength:

> *One benefit is that in the process of generating the research you've been involved in action, so you've done something … you felt like you were affecting something by the fact that you were actually sort of physically involved in doing something, rather than talking about it to someone else who agrees with you.*
>
> (Volunteer)

In drawing local people together to help with data collection, Environment preached beyond the converted, raised the community's awareness of traffic issues and in so doing, ignited passion for change:

> *This* [*Engage*] *extended the range of people who didn't even know what* [the VCSO] *was, or how it happened locally … It's made them feel a sense of involvement, ownership that's been very good. I think also on a sort of wider political level it's made people aware that there is a problem, and everybody knows about it and now thinks, 'What are we gonna do about it?'*
>
> (Volunteer)

The research process was action, a pivotal way for the association to spread their beliefs and to spark campaigning zeal in others. As one volunteer noted, *Engage* provided them the chance to *"direct my anger into a positive framework and make it useful"*.

The dissemination event at the Council gave an opportunity for all the projects to find their voice, to advocate to local influencers and funders, and to open doors to facilitate societal change:

> *We had the opportunity to present our work, our findings and to an audience who don't really listen to us a great deal … Following on from it we met a lady whose strategic director for* [local authority] *… It gave us that opening to go in and talk to people.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *So, it's opened lots of doors for us really … we've met with the commissioner. We've got another meeting with two other commissioners. And then yesterday we had a meeting with another organisation that will signpost people to us.*
>
> (Charity worker)

> *He* [local councillor] *took it* [the project presentation] *on board and it's like, 'Wow, we've already made an impression, you know, and somebody might be taking notice or doing something or pressing for something or singing from the same hymn sheet as us in some way'.*
>
> (Volunteer)

The practical, change orientation of *Engage* is encapsulated by this charity worker's quote that identifies impact across three distinct audiences:

> *So, the point of research is that it's got to be useful say on a practical level. And, I suppose, again, you have to identify who are you doing it for. Are we doing this to influence policy change, or are we doing this to influence funders, or are we doing this to influence the people that we're working with on the ground so that they know that they're stronger and can do it? And, I suppose we're interfacing across all those three areas.*

Reflecting on the above, *Engage* simultaneously imbued radical and normative ambitions, drawing on both Northern and Southern traditions of participatory research. The desire for policy change through mobilising marginalised voices was evident but so too was embrace of the neoliberal, a focus on system improvement. Hence, pedagogical spaces were experienced as both reproductive of the status quo and counter-hegemonic. A culture of survivalism permeated the dataset yet there were also glimpses of participants challenging the cultural hegemony of powerful groups.

5.3.2.3 Macro-level (paradigmatic) impacts

Beckett et al (2018: 10) compete that "impacts and momentum of co-production" may combine to "promote and sustain much broader change" at a conceptual and discursive paradigmatic level. Through the practice and promotion of co-produced research, the cultural hegemony of powerful groups may be challenged and ways of understanding the world modified. Beckett et al (ibid) assert that co-produced research at the

paradigmatic level implies "transformative synergies", the emergence of new ideas, methods, and relationships.

I have evidenced across this chapter how *Engage* proliferated new ideas and praxis knowledge, with most projects embracing pedagogical spaces that challenged 'traditional' social research practices and power dynamics, and that re/articulated the democratic purposes of VCSOs and the academy. For example, I explained how Education was prompted to reframe the way it conceived its beneficiaries and how several other VCSOs were planning to reframe elements of their services to better reflect the needs of their beneficiaries. There existed other tantalising examples of frames of reference shifting.

One charity worker shifted their understanding of the fundamental value of research from leveraging outputs for neoliberal ends to recognising the wide-ranging value of learning from the research process, particularly that arising from critical reflection:

> [To begin with] *I was just kind of focused on asking a question that will hopefully validate what we have thought and what we have done over two decades … and off the back of that we might get a paper written up that might help us with some funding bids … But I didn't expect the value that the staff and the team and our practice, and then by virtue of those things, our beneficiaries would get from this exercise … What I thought was the big win at the start, suddenly ended up not being for me. It was really the process and the questions and discussions, and changes that came out of those.*

Another noted that members of their team had since co-presented their experiences with academics at several conferences, contributing to abstract knowledge about CBPR and stimulating ideas for future research. And in Play, the VCSO was introduced, for the first time, to qualitative play-based methodologies which gave them new insight in how to gather data from children. This opposed to their relying on more 'traditional', quantitative techniques that they had used in the past, relatively unsuccessfully.

With paradigmatic impacts rooted in the practice of co-production, it stands to reason that barriers to that practice delimit the paradigmatic. I have already outlined some of these barriers in Section 5.2.2.2. An additional one recurring in the dataset was tension between utilitarian and critical, emancipatory orientations to research. As elucidated earlier, Education suffered most from this tension. From the academic's perspective, the project was driven by the VCSO's instrumental agenda:

> [The research was] *a funding-driven exercise, not a piece of research, and I do understand that was their main agenda. But we did acknowledge that and they still couldn't get beyond that; they could not get beyond that role.*

Neoliberal pressures constrained the VCSO's ability to embrace the critical, their preference instead for 'safe' research targeted at pre-determined ends. This shaped their pedagogical space towards the market, away from counter-hegemony. The academic found this frustrating as to their mind, it would have been possible to balance instrumental requirements with enhanced critical consciousness:

> *Both were possible. They could have had both because I had an interesting analysis as an academic, which would have been unique, would have been well worth writing up.*

Intimated is the VCSO's anxiety for any research that might look critical of them, which would be a death knell in the neoliberal fight for survival. It certainly demonstrates that any CBPR approach must carefully package findings, perhaps saving more critical reports for internal consumption and reflection.

In sum, social impacts arising from the right of participation across *Engage* covered the gamut of utilitarian to emancipatory, spanning both systems and life worlds. Some impacts were driven by praxis knowledge, others by activism. There was stronger evidence in the dataset for meso-level impacts and for local-level societal impacts over national, the latter unsurprising given the scale of the programme. Elements of co-production allowed for paradigmatic impacts, particularly those driving new ideas, methods, relationships, and frames of reference.

In the final chapter of this enquiry, I extend discussion of the findings, address implications and limitations arising, and suggest areas for future research.

Chapter Six – Discussion

It's a painful process when you don't know what the boundaries are, and you don't know what your role is and what their role is.

(Charity worker)

6.0 Introduction

Across this final chapter, I provide critical discussion of my findings and on occasion, present additional data to support my arguments. With relation identity, I offer components of a CBPR specialised identity that I contend integral if CBPR projects are to be 'gold standard'. I discuss barriers and enablers to adopting this specialised identity, that arise from social arenas and professional social categories. I then discuss findings in relation to learning and social change, positing that pedagogic rights are 'active ingredients' of CBPR, enabling it to effect outcomes in social worlds. After considering the implications of this enquiry, I conclude by examining its limitations and suggesting avenues for further research.

6.1 A CBPR specialised identity

My dataset included plentiful evidence of professional social categories in *Engage* adopting specialised identities to act meaningfully and authentically within 'gold standard' CBPR, alongside some interesting exceptions. Across this section, I initially explore the nature of social arenas as pedagogical spaces conducive to 'gold standard' CBPR. I then posit components of a CBPR specialised identity before considering how varied contextual factors and professional identity pressures might affect its adoption by participants.

6.1.1 Social arenas conducive to 'gold standard' CBPR

The context, purposes, and stakeholders of any given CBPR project are unique – so it was with *Engage*. Each of *Engage's* constituent projects provided distinct social arenas, pedagogical spaces, that were transformative, shaping and shaped by the identities of those involved. In most instances, participants were empowered to imagine new ways of being and doing; emerging mastery constituted the arenas. In others, arenas reaffirmed professional boundaries and identities and stymied imaginative freedoms. Initially, I wish to explore the conditions that fostered new specialised identities.

Such conditions were evident in the most participatory of *Engage's* projects – Creative, Play, and Phobia. It was these projects that strove for 'gold standard' CBPR, that rooted in social justice and fostering the democratic participation of citizens to transform their lives and society. In Chapter Five, Section 5.2.2.1, I explained how Creative appeared closest to this 'gold standard', although all three projects contained evidence of the emancipation of participants through new ways of being and doing. Crucially, as Muhammad et al (2015) champion, academics in the projects were liberated from 'traditional' social research modes of production, from received versions of their own situations. They embraced compassionate consciousness, freeing themselves from prior personal and cultural biases, and from ascribed status arising from their individual power, privilege, and prestige. Through critical reflection, they reconceptualised themselves from holders of 'expert' knowledge to catalysers of local communities to understand power inequities and to take action. In examining their own position of power within pedagogical spaces, they transformed power dynamics.

The condition for emancipation in these social arenas was therefore their acting as effective pedagogical spaces. This concept proved a fruitful way to examine the arenas, elucidating how pedagogical relations and liminality provoked gateways for participants to new and previously inaccessible ways of thinking and practising, activating conscientização and enabling social justice-oriented praxis knowledge. In this way, the arenas prevented 'gold standard' projects from descending into sheer verbalism or activism.

Emancipation in these spaces mirrored the three dimensions suggested by Park (2001) and introduced in Chapter Two, Section 2.1 – powers of competence, connection, and confidence. Participants grew: competence through developing new ways of thinking about their social worlds; connection from strengthened communitas within and across organisations and communities; and confidence from reflecting on sense of 'self', on values and choices. Emancipation within pedagogical spaces enabled transformative, and occasionally counter-hegemonic, moments.

As Bernstein (2001) posits, specialised identities arise from relations of reciprocal support, legitimation, and recognition and through a negotiated collective purpose. I would argue that the role of collaborative leader is crucial to incorporating such relations in emancipatory pedagogical spaces. An effective collaborative leader holds divergent unity / diversity tensions, simultaneously respecting and valuing participants' diverse knowledges, experiences, and expertise whilst uniting them through a shared, social change-oriented purpose. Collaborative leaders also foster environments where participants feel comfortable with liminality, to take risks, to learn from one another, and to embrace specialised identities.

Through power flowing dynamically across and between differently positioned professional subjects, and through these subjects engaging reflexively about power relations, participants brought their agency to the table, playing to their respective, diverse strengths whilst holding the unified whole. When doing so, they adopted collaborative leader ('master') roles. Initially, there may be reticence (especially amongst VCSO participants) to adopt a master role. As one charity worker commented in relation to the role of their academic, *"We were thinking, 'You're really clever. You tell us what to do, we'll go do it'"*. In this instance, the academic stood firm, emphasising the participatory nature of CBPR in order to create more equitable practices.

In *Engage*, participants operated within power asymmetries whilst at the same time, challenging them. In the most participatory projects, 'collaborative empowerment' (Huxham & Beech, 2008) enabled VCSO participants to adopt master roles and academics to challenge the status quo of 'traditional' social research. In seizing micro-

power to enact change, professional power bases were transformed and it became possible to produce different knowledge, differently.

CBPR pedagogical spaces are marked by weak classifications and framings that soften boundaries between participants and that enhance the potential for variation in 'message', confusing participants as how 'best' to be in context. Therefore, a crucial role for collaborative leaders is to support participants to adopt specialised identities that aid their navigation of recognition and realisation rules – that is, their understandings of CBPR spaces and how to act meaningfully within them.

Through *Engage*, both academic and VCSO participants learnt the recognition and realisation rules for CBPR. In the less participatory projects – Environment and Education – reticence lay on one or both sides to weaken boundaries and to learn the rules. In the more participatory, the choice of research methods themselves enabled the learning of realisation and recognition rules. For example, in Play the academics deployed play-based methodologies to gather data. These approaches aligned closely with the values and practices of the VCSO and therefore permitted inference of recognition rules and adoption of appropriate realisation rules that facilitated participation in research.

In sum, pedagogical spaces fostered specialised identities that empowered citizens to participate and to take social justice-oriented actions, and incorporated:

1. **Collaborative empowerment**, the flux of power between alternating 'masters' and 'apprentices';

2. **Collaborative leadership by multiple individuals**, holding unity / diversity tensions and keeping focus on a shared, collective purpose;

3. **Emancipatory pedagogical relations**, supporting, recognising, and legitimating all involved.

I now explore the main components of CBPR specialised identities.

6.1.2 Introducing a CBPR specialised identity

At the outset, I note three fundamental aspects of a CBPR specialised identity:

1. The identity is **hybrid and professional**, arising as it does from the projection of varied professional identities into social worlds and their re-authoring into new;

2. The identity demands **capacity for co-operative action oriented to social change**, individuals engaging as active agents rather than passive spectators;

3. The identity is **bicameral and unifying**, requiring individuals willing and able to maintain openness to the limitations of their originating professional identities, to legitimise others', and to align with a shared collective purpose.

In Table (10), I present the main components of a CBPR specialised identity, in relation to Archer's (2008a) ways of 'feeling' professional (cross-reference Chapter Two, Section 2.6). All three professional social categories reified the 'being' aspects of the identity, followed by the 'doing', with the 'having' considered of least import. This embrace of the affective (of qualities, values, and practices), over and above knowledge (whether abstract or everyday), is interesting. It marks the significance of relational dynamics in CBPR, means to deeper knowing.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">COMPONENTS CONSTITUTING A CBPR SPECIALISED IDENTITY</th></tr>
<tr><th>BEING:
Qualities & practices associated with CBPR</th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">PEDAGOGICAL QUALITIES & PRACTICES

Qualities and practices that are integral to a social justice pedagogy and that re/shape spaces and re/form identities.</td><td>Relational dialectics:
Co-learning arising from responsive, informed conversations between collaborators</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Master' and 'apprentice' roles:
Catalysing others' learning whilst also learning about 'self' and 'other'</td></tr>
<tr><td>Critical reflection:</td></tr>
</table>

	About pedagogical experiences, expectations, frustrations, and identity
	Inclusivity: Embracing creativity and different knowledges, perspectives, expertise, and experiences
	Accountability: Being responsive, and responsible, to collaborators
	'Unbecoming': Inhabiting a more flexible and ambiguous sense of self
	Comfort with discomfort: Taking risks to enter, and then having resilience to remain in, liminal spaces rather than fleeing to the comforting constraints of originating professions
COLLABORATIVE PRACTICES Practices that ensure solidarity in a communitas targeted towards a common purpose.	**Collaborative leadership:** Uniting diverse groups of people, over whom you have no hierarchical responsibility, through unifying visions and shared understandings, and supporting them to explore liminal spaces whilst actively managing unity / diversity tensions
	Collaborative empowerment: Embracing acts of micro-power across a collaboration, recognising the flow of power between differently positioned professional subjects and working within, and challenging, power asymmetries
	Collaborative capacity building: Enhancing the capacity of others to collaborate through emphasising tolerance, flexibility, and openness, bridging differences through collective decision-making and participatory discussions, and supporting people to express themselves
RESEARCH-RELATED QUALITIES Given its participatory and action-oriented roots, CBPR has specific epistemological and ontological stances (ways of being and knowing in the social world), enacted through varied qualities.	**Compassionate consciousness:** Seeking empathy with the 'other' and acknowledging, and integrating, different ways of knowing into knowledge production processes
	Social justice orientation: Activating voice in others, so that they are empowered as citizens to take action in social worlds
	Deliberation-in-action:

	Combining abstract and everyday knowledges through discussion and negotiation
	Criticality: Challenging the status quo, changing dominant power relations and structures within and without the research process
HAVING: **Knowledge as to the workings of CBPR**	
RESEARCH-RELATED KNOWLEDGE	**Pedagogical methodology:** Knowledge of how to include participants in pedagogical relations, throughout the research process
	Research methods & analyses: Knowledge of 'untraditional' social research methods and analyses as means to creatively engage participants
	Research instruments: Knowledge of, and access to, research instruments that aid data collection and analyses
	Abstract knowledge: In relation to the research issue in hand
EVERYDAY KNOWLEDGE	**Collaborative practices:** Knowledge of effective collaborative practices (as under 'Being')
	Everyday knowledge: In relation to the research issue in hand
NOT KNOWING	Counter-intuitively, an element of 'not knowing' about either the research process or issue, and shared amongst collaborators, can foster pedagogical and collaborative practices conducive to building communitas based on a voyage of shared discovery
DOING: **Performing CBPR-related activities**	
RESEARCH ORIENTATIONS	**Action orientation:** Critically reflecting on public issues through cycles of action and reflection, with affective, practical action targeted at injustices
	Participatory orientation: Involving participants throughout, disrupting 'traditional' knowledge production processes

	Political: Seeking to make a change in the political world
	Process: Willing to learn from the critical process of CBPR rather than purely from research outcomes
	Meaningfulness: Ensuring meaningful projection and meaningful collaboration through targeting research projects at local issues
CO-PRODUCTION	**Co-producing knowledge:** Building productive interactions that unite theory and practice to produce new knowledge
	Praxis knowledge: Targeting co-produced, democratic praxis knowledge at socially just change

Table 10: Components constituting a specialised CBPR

Indeed, an element of 'not knowing' with relation research issue or process, and comfort with this, might prove helpful in CBPR, for it makes projects more likely to be shared discoveries for all. Shared discovery within a pedagogical space is collaborative and unifying, evidenced by level power relations and emancipatory pedagogy. Conversely, if any one participant knows 'too much' about a research issue in hand, their imaginative freedom, and openness to others' ideas, may be delimited. This was the case for Environment, where the academic felt they 'knew' what needed to be done and could not imagine beyond.

'Having' within CBPR was rarely reported as having knowledge about the specific research issue in hand rather, as about how to be and do within CBPR – i.e. as knowledge that scaffolds participants' access to realisation and recognition rules. And 'doing' within CBPR marked a way for participants to enact being and having, their practice informing identity and their identity, practice.

The components of the specialised identity presented in Table (10) are those to which professional social categories should aspire when operating in 'gold standard' CBPR contexts. At the outset of a CBPR project, participants could benchmark as to the

components they already possess from their originating professional roles versus those they need if they are to operate authentically within 'gold standard' CBPR pedagogical spaces.

Given that specialised identities result from projection, they are subject to external influences most notably, neoliberal ones. Whilst Table (10) marks the core components of a CBPR specialised identity, identity inflection in *Engage* varied due to contextual factors. These factors either enabled or constrained participants' abilities to adopt specialised identities. It is to these factors that I now turn.

6.1.3 Contextual factors impacting specialised identities

As posited in Section 6.1.1, pedagogical spaces marked by collaborative leadership and empowerment and by emancipatory pedagogical relations, positively affected participants' capacities to adopt specialised identities. However, as in extant literature (for example: Olesen, 2001; Webb 2015), in some instances contextual factors shaped professional identities and constrained individuals' learning potentials through establishing strong professional boundaries that negated out-group influences and prevented freedom to imagine new ways of being and doing. In these instances, pedagogical spaces were experienced as reproductive of privilege and inequality rather than transformative of the status quo.

In what follows, I take each professional social category in turn and consider how contextual factors impacted capacity to adopt specialised identities. I also explore the impact of associational, as opposed to organisational, contexts, and conclude with a summary of the key barriers to assuming specialised identities.

6.1.3.1 Academics

A challenge for academics was that CBPR marked a divergence from 'corporate' and 'traditional' social research ways of being. 'Symbolic violence' exists within the academy (Burke et al, 2017), compelling personhoods for, and of, the market and reifying objective over compassionate consciousness. For academics, embracing a CBPR

approach was a radical, subversive move, an 'unbecoming' that involved: espousing new epistemologies; divesting power; and learning about their own potential and place within communities and about the CBPR approach itself. This was easier for some than for others, and there was some evidence of academics struggling to psychically split between corporate and social justice-oriented roles.

'Unbecomings' aligned more with 'principled' personal projects (Archer, 2008(a)) focused on making a difference, empowering others to embrace research and to challenge the status quo, than with 'corporate'. Academics perceived 'unbecoming' as inherently risky; when asked, all doubted that CBPR would be taken seriously by the 'corporate' university.

Universities are knowledge producing organisations – research is a core to their day-to-day work. A bias towards critical thinking pervades the academy and is often associated with longer timescales for research. This is sometimes at odds with pressures VCSOs feel to 'get on and do'. To illustrate – in one project it took several months of conversation about the research and what it could offer, before research questions were identified. For the academic, this proved *"incredibly useful"* but for the charity worker, conscious of *Engage's* tight timeframe, *"it felt like trying to get it all set up and to decide what we were gonna do took forever, which was horrendous"*.

A crass distinction might be that universities comprise individuals 'paid to think' versus VCSOs, individuals 'paid to do'. Actually, such distinction is not clear cut. For example, one charity worker appreciated the fact that their research was not instrumental instead, about critical process:

> *What I loved about the process was like, you know, we just had to wait and see what happened. It's not a mathematical formula, where it always comes out with the same answer.*

However, there no doubt existed, in some instances, tension between academics' desire for slower, critical research versus VCSOs' for utilitarian, 'quick win'.

6.1.3.2 Charity workers

The VCSOs in *Engage* were all smaller in scale and organisationally diverse, comprising four registered charities and one unregistered association; contextual factors impacting the association are considered in detail in Section 6.1.3.4. As the VCSOs were smaller, they were relatively flexible in their ways of working and rooted in local community needs, an ideal combination for CBPR. However, their diminutive size meant severe organisational constraints:

> *No-one's got any resources. No-one's got any capacity. You're dead on your feet. You've got no money. That's what it's like working for charities*.

Given these constraints, it was important that CBPR projects aligned with the social change objectives of VCSOs, so that they could justify the resource commitment.

As professionals with managerial identities (Kreutzer & Jager, 2011), charity workers faced the task of balancing three sets of sometimes divergent needs – those of their organisation, their service users, and the research. Whilst many identified as social change agents motivated to help others (*"you do want to make a change in people's lives; you do care"*), neoliberal and associated New Public Management (NPM) pressures biased them towards organisational needs, to 'proving' their organisation's worth in the pursuit of additional funding:

> *A really big thing was wanting to be able to go out and tell people what was working and why it was working so that we could get more funding, to carry on doing it.*

So too, charity workers were subjected to symbolic violence, to inhabit apolitical, instrumental mindsets, conducting research for predetermined ends, delimiting organisational learning, and constraining challenge of the status quo. Whilst some workers grew to appreciate the emancipatory aspects of CBPR pedagogical spaces, the compulsion of the market proved strong in shaping personhoods. Within CBPR contexts,

charity workers must therefore psychically split between apolitical and political incarnations of self.

6.1.3.3 Volunteers

Of the three professional social categories in *Engage*, volunteers started from the lowest professional base. With volunteer identities commonly (self-)defined as 'amateur' and ways of working 'informal' (Smolovic-Jones & Jacklin-Jarvis, 2016b), it was unsurprising that volunteers positioned initially as 'apprentices' to both charity workers and academics. One volunteer noted that a lack of pay, of contractual obligation, meant they were easily ignored:

> *As a volunteer you're not going to get paid. Nobody's going to notice what you do. You're not going to get any kudos.*

Most volunteers in *Engage* were unemployed, and so lacked the professional status that comes with employment. With this came an enhanced danger that their insights might not be accepted as potentially valid, that they might become victims of epistemic injustices. They required greater support to overcome power asymmetries – "*people like us maybe need some help to kind of overcome that* [the lack of professional status]*"* – so to bring their agency to the table and contribute to the building of shared visions.

However, within a CBPR setting an ascribed volunteer identity does have advantages. The basic democratic structures, non-managerial logics, and activist orientations inherent to informal volunteer ways of working suit the participatory and action-oriented nature of CBPR. And a lack of contractual obligation means that volunteers are more likely to be motivated by their beliefs and values for a particular cause – *"you have to have that belief in something because, as a volunteer you're not going to get paid"* – suiting the critical slant of CBPR. Free of the constraints of working practices, volunteers can use their initiative and creativity to drive (political) change. As such, volunteers' professional identities are not far removed from CBPR specialised identities – they share core values in common. Volunteers may therefore find it easier to access CBPR's recognition and realisation rules compared to other professionals.

Within *Engage*, both charity workers and academics provided their time pro bono; grants could not be used to cover staff costs. Some participants viewed the time they committed as 'volunteering' and therefore, somewhat of a 'sacrifice'. This was fine when projects were progressing well. However, when conflict arose (for example, in the case of Education), participants came to resent their 'volunteering' and reined in their commitment.

6.1.3.4 The context of the unincorporated association

The Environment association provided a fascinating counterpoint to registered, service oriented VCSOs. As Milbourne & Murray (2017b) have it, in their distance from state and market, associations are free to reclaim spaces for dissent, to provide a 'conflictual' role in civil society as opposed to the 'consensual', apolitical role of neoliberalised charities. Their capacity for CBPR specialised identities could therefore be that much greater.

Indeed, Environment volunteers noted that, in existing outside of contract cultures, they were free to focus on their message and to stimulate democratic discourse, as opposed to other VCSOs who needed research in some way to 'prove' their worth. Free of institutionalised thinking, it was easier for the association to have a clear political bent to their research, to achieve the impact of civic discourse, and to action ideas based on their beliefs:

> *You need some idea that what you're doing is something that you believe in. A sense that what is required is actioned, not just an interest. So, it isn't a kind of fan group or an appreciation society or something. It's actually, 'We need to do something'.*

It may be that in CBPR projects involving associations, movements, campaigns, and other explicitly advocacy-based forms, there is less risk of co-option to neoliberal ends. Certainly, in Environment, the research process itself mobilised the association into action, enabling its campaigning zeal. With such an activist orientation, the presence of an academic that reified objective consciousness over compassionate really smarted; a

willingness to champion social change objectives is crucial for any academic collaborating with activists.

The association faced unique challenges compared to the other *Engage* VCSOs. One was a lack of resource infrastructure (e.g. office equipment and supplies) so that they had to draw on the University's:

> *We needed to do lots of photocopying and IT support. The University responded really well to that. So, there was a really good IT person who just seemed to be there whenever you needed them.*

Another was the lack of professional staff to support the volunteers through the project, to foster positive pedagogical and collaborative practices. The volunteers in the association had to do more 'off-their-own-backs', especially as their academic did not fill a collaborator role.

Finally, the grant and collaboration with the University meant that the association was taken more seriously. Advocacy groups, easy to dismiss as 'hot-headed campaigners', may carry less status in society as opposed to 'professional' organisations. Collaborating with the University brought status, a 'validation' of their knowledge:

> *Sometimes it's* [collaborating with a university] *really helpful because it gives it a kind of a weight or a seriousness that's really good because then, people just go, 'Well, it's not just a group of partisan local people' and that's useful because it enables certain things.*

Whilst other VCSOs in *Engage* also noted enhanced status from collaborating with the University – the 'prestige' of the academic a potent discourse – the increase in status afforded to the association was that much greater given its location in partisan discourses marginalised within apolitical neoliberal society.

6.1.3.5 Barriers to forming CBPR specialised identities

I have described conditions conducive to 'gold standard' CBPR pedagogical spaces and presented a CBPR specialised identity that would enable citizens to navigate such spaces. Now, I surmise the key barriers to adopting such an identity:

Barrier	Explanation
Presence of strongly bounded professional identities	Strongly bounded professional identities generate hierarchical relationships between professional categories. This reduces individuals' capacities to imagine themselves in new ways because of: • Unwillingness to enter the liminal space, to cross the boundaries separating professional categories; • Restricting willingness to divest professional status in favour of out-group influences; • Negating the possibility of a unifying common purpose as individuals focus on self-interest; • Exacerbating differences between in and out-groups.
Reification of objective over subjective	An objective consciousness assumes a distinction between those who do research and those researched, strong classificatory relations deleterious of specialised identities. It also prevents field immersion, the willingness of researchers to explore their own values, attitudes, motivations, and challenges. And it devalues other modes of knowing such as acting and feeling that are central to CBPR. As such, objective consciousness delimits the disruption from which specialised identities emerge.
Impact of neoliberal pressures	Within VCSOs, pressures for organisational survival: 1. Reduce space for the critical, for organisational learning, as organisations self-censor in fear of jeopardising funding; 2. Enhance the desire for instrumental research that 'proves' organisational worth, over-and-above social justice-oriented foci;

	3. Compel charity workers and volunteers to personhoods for and of the market, away from social justice orientations – a form of symbolic violence. Within the academy, discourses of 'homo economicus' pressure researchers towards 'corporate' identities based upon mastering modes of performativity, and away from 'risky' specialised identities.
Lack of collaborative empowerment	Specialised identities require that participants are able to seize micro-power and act as 'masters' as well as 'apprentices'. A lack of collaborative empowerment prevents this from happening, limiting the ability of the relatively powerless to set priorities and control resources, and the relatively powerful to challenge the status quo. Power asymmetries remain, preventing the boundary crossing necessary for specialised identities. Demeaned professional status (such as in the case of volunteers) makes collaborative empowerment more difficult.
Lack of collaborative leadership	A lack of collaborative leadership: • Prevents the holding of unity / diversity tensions that enable participants to take risks to assume new specialised identities; • Reduces the support, recognition, and legitimation required for specialised identities; • Delimits the potential of developing a shared common purpose, again crucial for specialised identities; • Results in confusion over roles in collaboration, so that participants retreat to the comforting constraints of their professions.
Lack of organisational capacity	Smaller VCSOs face scarce resources, particularly in terms of time and money. CBPR projects that do not align closely with organisational priorities may be underserved. Those organisations staffed entirely by volunteers lack the professional capacity and resources to support volunteers within the liminal space, so they may struggle to assume specialised identities.

Research that is purely activist or purely critical	Research that fails to bring together abstract and everyday knowledges through productive interactions restricts praxis knowledge. Research that is purely critical (verbalism) allows researchers to remain within their academic domains. That which is purely activist enables practitioners to remain in theirs. It is by adopting specialised identities through crossing epistemological boundaries that praxis knowledge is made possible.

Table 11: Barriers to forming CBPR specialised identities

Elements of all the above were evident to varied degrees across the dataset but particularly present in Education and Environment, whose pedagogical spaces tended to reinforce inequality. Neoliberal pressures were keenly felt. However, there was clear evidence across participants, whether from the academy or VCSOs, of psychic splitting between performances of self and internalised senses of self. That is, participants were able to retain internalised social justice-embedded identities akin to specialised identities, alongside personhoods for the market. The potential for volunteers to adopt specialised identities appeared greatest, more distant as they were from neoliberal pressures.

Having outlined the components of a CBPR specialised identity and considered contextual factors conducive to, and restrictive of, the adoption of this identity, I now surmise the enquiry's key findings with regards learning and social change.

6.2 Learning and social change

Engage participants accessed specialised identities that varied due to the inflection of their professional social categories and other contextual factors. The identities were transformative due to access to pedagogic rights. The greater access participants had to the rights, the greater their emancipation, their stake in society, their willingness and ability to act civically and to effect social change. Transformations at the individual, micro-level progressed changes at meso and macro-levels. So, in building capacity in

individual participants as social change producers, *Engage* effected social change. However, there was plentiful evidence that participants acted civically without challenging dominant policies or structures. That is, *Engage* projects drew on dimensions and skills from both Northern and Southern traditions of participatory research, simultaneously both radical and normative. Pedagogical spaces were experienced as both reproductive of the status quo and transformative.

Tables (12) to (14) display the key learning and impacts for respective professional social categories, reported in Chapter Five, under each pedagogic right. With relation the pedagogic right of enhancement, *Engage* enabled participants to cross personal, social, and intellectual boundaries with transformative micro-level impacts arising from these crossings. Participants were enhanced as social critics, as active citizens, and contra to Bernstein's (2000) assertion, their enhancement need not entail a discipline; for example, crossing social boundaries between 'self' and 'other' was, in some instances, enough to enhance.

Enhancement at the micro-level is not to guarantee that participants will take social change-oriented actions; it is the pedagogic right of inclusion that makes such actions likely. This is because the right's condition of 'communitas' enables pedagogic relations between identities that legitimise, support, and recognise and, through collaborative leadership and empowerment practices, that hold unity / diversity tensions. In this, a shared common purpose and associated actions are facilitated.

Finally, with relation the pedagogic right of participation, CBPR provided spaces for activities that enhanced framing and relational practices, thereby augmenting the democratic remit of organisations involved. Not least, through its participatory nature, *Engage* transformed structures of who controls the knowledge production process. VCSOs alighted upon research directed towards their pre-existing social change orientations. This enabled them to justify a redirection of limited organisational resources from other activities and to assume the mantle of knowledge producers. For the University, *Engage* provided a space for research that liberated academics and knowledge from 'traditional' modes of academic production.

PEDAGOGIC RIGHT OF ENHANCEMENT	PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL CATEGORY		
	Academics	**Charity workers**	**Volunteers**
LEARNING ABOUT			
'Self'	Emancipation from received versions of self 'Unbecome' from 'traditional' social research roles and from 'corporate' academic identities	Emancipation from received versions of self 'Unbecome' from research consumer to research producer roles	Emancipation from received versions of self 'Unbecome' from research consumers to research producer roles Significant professional, intellectual and personal growth
'Other'	Learn about the contextual factors impacting VCSOs	Confound stereotypes of 'traditional' academics Learn more about service users and their needs	Confound stereotypes of 'traditional' academics
MICRO-LEVEL IMPACTS			
Re/discovered confidence	Enhance confidence in: the practice of CBPR; the uncertainty of a liminal space; and in 'not knowing'	Enhance self-confidence and self-esteem resulting in enhanced capacity to act within CBPR and professional roles	Enhance self-confidence and self-esteem resulting in enhanced capacity to act within CBPR and professional roles
Re/discovered voice	Deploy relational practices that	Through the power of research	Through the power of research

	unleash voice in others	relationships, democratic practices re/ignited	relationships, democratic practices re/ignited
Re/discovered research process	Demystify the CBPR approach – its epistemological roots and collaborative practice – both for themselves and others Foster meaningful research collaborations through actively divesting power	Learn more about the research process in general and CBPR in particular Break stereotypes about research based on 'traditional' social research conceptions, embracing creative methods	Learn more about the research process in general and CBPR in particular Break stereotypes about research based on 'traditional' social research conceptions, embracing creative methods

Table 12: Learning and impacts across professional social categories related to the pedagogic right of enhancement

PEDAGOGIC RIGHT OF INCLUSION	**PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL CATEGORY**		
	Academics	**Charity workers**	**Volunteers**
LEARNING ABOUT			
The 'apprentice' role	Active divestment of power to adopt apprentice role	Default positioning in relation to academics	Default positioning in relation to academics and charity workers
The 'master' role	Default positioning providing support, legitimation, and recognition across project teams Work within power asymmetries whilst	Develop collaborative leadership skills Recognise micro-power with relation to support, gatekeeping, and	Develop collaborative leadership skills Recognise micro-power with relation to support, gatekeeping and

	simultaneously challenging them Develop collaborative leadership skills	engagement of service users Provide support, legitimation, and recognition to other VCSO participants	engagement of service users
Informal relations	High personal commitment to 'hold' collaborations Receptive to learning Potential for guilt to arise from trying to reconcile 'principled' personal projects with 'corporate' identities	Voice is enabled and creative risks taken Receptive to learning High personal commitment	Voice is enabled and creative risks taken Receptive to learning High personal commitment
MICRO-LEVEL IMPACTS			
Development of communitas	Collaborative leadership and empowerment Participation throughout the research process Shared collective purpose Balanced unity / diversity tensions Pedagogical relations that support, recognise, and legitimate	Collaborative leadership and empowerment Participation throughout the research process Shared collective purpose Balanced unity / diversity tensions Pedagogical relations that support, recognise, and legitimate	Collaborative leadership and empowerment Participation throughout the research process Shared collective purpose Balanced unity / diversity tensions Pedagogical relations that support, recognise, and legitimate

Table 13: Learning and impacts across professional social categories related to the pedagogic right of inclusion

PEDAGOGIC RIGHT OF PARTICIPATION	PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL CATEGORY		
	Academics	**Charity workers**	**Volunteers**
LEARNING ABOUT			
Social change orientation of organisations	Conduct research with clear social change objectives CBPR a tool for social change	VCSOs as 'schools of democracy' through services and advocacy, building social capital, and acting as value guardians CBPR a tool for social change	VCSOs as 'schools of democracy' through services and advocacy, building social capital, and acting as value guardians CBPR a tool for social change
Co-production of praxis knowledge	Provide abstract knowledge to prevent activism Value knowledge, perspectives, and skills of all involved Everyday knowledge as illumination of concepts and avoidance of assumptions	Provide everyday knowledge to prevent verbalism Value knowledge, perspectives, and skills of all involved Abstract knowledge as providing new lens for professional practice	Provide everyday knowledge to prevent verbalism Value knowledge, perspectives, and skills of all involved Abstract knowledge as providing new lens for professional practice
MESO-LEVEL IMPACTS			
Enhanced organisational confidence and voice	Growth in framing and relational practices Enhance the academy's experience of non-'traditional'	Growth in framing and relational practices Legitimise professional practice Enhance advocacy	Growth in framing and relational practices Legitimise professional practice Enhance advocacy

	social research methods		
Fulfilling organisational objectives	Effect socially impactful research	Evidence impact of services	Evidence impact of services
MACRO-LEVEL IMPACTS			
Societal impacts	Contribute to wider movements Engage diverse people with research via accessible outputs Research as action Ignite passion for change Influence local powerbrokers	Contribute to wider movements Engage diverse people with research via accessible outputs Research as action Ignite passion for change Influence local powerbrokers	Contribute to wider movements Engage diverse people with research via accessible outputs Research as action Ignite passion for change Influence local powerbrokers
Paradigmatic impacts	Co-production of praxis knowledge Shift frames of reference Emergence of new ideas, methods, and relationships Develop critical thinking about the CBPR approach	Co-production of praxis knowledge Shift frames of reference Emergence of new ideas, methods, and relationships Develop critical thinking about the CBPR approach	Co-production of praxis knowledge Shift frames of reference Emergence of new ideas, methods, and relationships Develop critical thinking about the CBPR approach

Table 14: Learning and impacts across professional social categories related to the pedagogic right of participation

However, liberated knowledge was, in many instances, co-opted to fulfil ends in systems worlds reproductive of, rather than disruptive to, the status quo. Market-driven imperatives shaped some projects towards effecting knowledge economic rather than knowledge democratic ends. Nevertheless, the use of research to transform institutional practices did result in impacts beyond the systems world. For example, by enhancing the framing and relational practices of VCSOs, services became better informed by, and tailored to, the needs of service users. Thus, VCSOs simultaneously imbued normative and radical ambitions. Notably, as an association, Environment was freer to take on a radical role.

In terms of the CBPR approach itself, co-production of praxis knowledge allowed for the: shifting of frames of reference; emergence of new ideas, methods, and relationships; and the translation of local knowledge to inform wider movements and abstract thinking (i.e. impacts at the paradigmatic level). Communities were mobilised to action and, through the Council dissemination event, participants directly influenced local powerbrokers. Research provided a professional and respected base from which advocacy could be heard.

6.2.1 The pedagogic rights as 'active ingredients' in CBPR

In Chapter Three, Section 3.3, I suggested that the pedagogic rights might usefully be conceived as the 'active ingredients' (Aesop & BOP Consulting, 2018) of CBPR – as inherent properties or dynamics that enable it to have outcomes in social worlds. Following this enquiry's findings, I would suggest this is indeed the case. Figure (9) presents a logic model illustrating how CBPR produces social outcomes.

The model brings together the varied facets of this enquiry. The 'inputs' element details the key components of a CBPR project recognising these as context-specific. 'Outputs' involve enumeration of the participants and beneficiaries of the research, alongside things delivered. In the 'active ingredients' part of the model, I identify and distil how CBPR generates social outcomes through:

- **Imagining** (linked to the pedagogic right of enhancement)

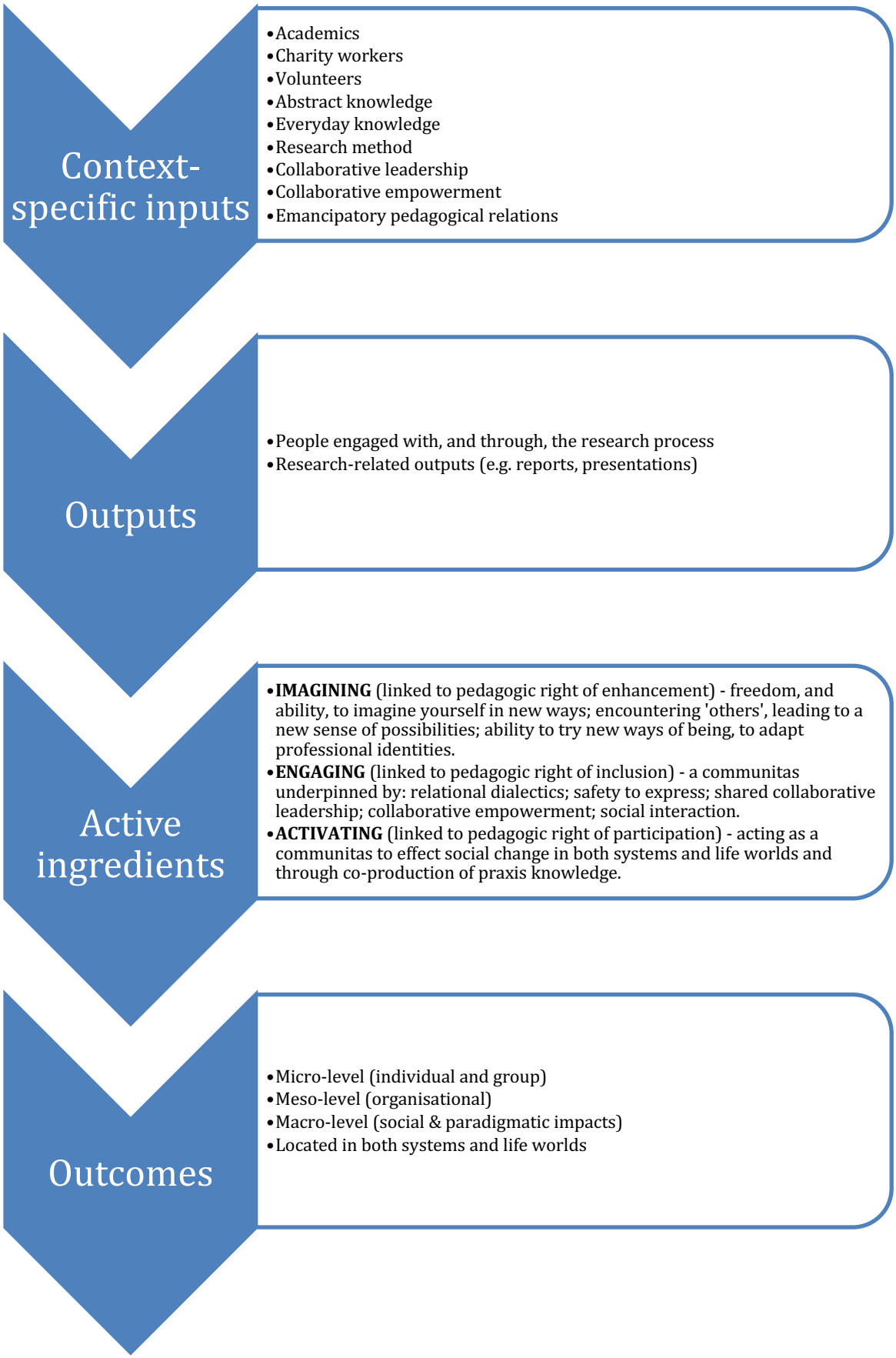

Figure 9: A logic model illustrating pedagogic rights as 'active ingredients' of the CBPR process

- **Engaging** (linked to the pedagogic right of inclusion)
- **Activating** (linked to the pedagogic right of participation)

The existence of these 'active ingredients' is important for they may be lacking in the worlds of professional social categories involved in CBPR. For example, strong professional boundaries might inhibit freedom to imagine. The 'active ingredients' combine inputs and outputs in such a way as to produce social outcomes that span micro to macro-levels and that impact both systems and life worlds.

6.3 Implications of this enquiry

This enquiry has a range of implications. I suggest the person of the researcher, no matter their professional social category, is the most critical instrument in CBPR. It is therefore vital that participants reflect on their identities, their ways of being and doing, if they are to maximise their efficacy as research instruments. Components of a CBPR specialised identity (Table (10)) comprise an aspirational identity for those wishing to conduct 'gold standard' CBPR projects. They provide a point of comparison for participants with their originating professional identities' ways of 'being', 'having', and 'doing'. Through comparison, participants can identify areas for development that will enable their meaningful operation within CBPR pedagogical spaces. And they can reflect on, and address, aspects of their originating professional identity that may constrain.

The enquiry's findings also provide insight as to *how* CBPR generates outcomes in social worlds that I hope will be useful to practitioners. I have suggested that the pedagogic rights operate as 'active ingredients' and have unpicked a variety of ways of being, doing, and knowing that constitute these ingredients. Particularly, I highlight the importance of collaborative leadership and associated collaborative empowerment practices within pedagogical spaces. Time spent by practitioners on developing their understanding of, and skills in, these practices would be time well spent.

Given that smaller VCSOs comprise 97% of the voluntary & community sector (NCVO [online]), alongside an additional 900,000 'below-the-radar' organisations and

associations (Johnston, 2017), this enquiry's focus on such VCSOs is apposite. Through CBPR, there is huge scope for universities to collaborate with smaller VCSOs, with charity workers and volunteers therein, and to build respective relational and framing practices that enhance the democratic.

This potential comes with a need to understand the subtleties of who you are collaborating with, the components of your unique social arena. This enquiry has unpicked some of these subtleties, for example: the closer alignment to the CBPR democratic 'ideal' of political associations as opposed to apolitical VCSOs; the relative freedom of associations from neoliberal constraints; the lower professional status of volunteers and associations in society; the lack of professional support and resources within associations; and volunteers' professional identities more akin at outset to CBPR specialised identities than academics' and charity workers'. A greater appreciation of the organisations and people comprising a CBPR social arena will permit more sensitive and tailored collaborative practices, enhancing the efficacy of the research process.

This enquiry is based on a small, context-specific case study and as such, it was never my intention to chase an absolute 'truth' rather, to apply Bernsteinian conceptual frames alongside Burke et al's (2017) concept of pedagogical methodology. By application, I have shaped the frames through new thinking and insight drawn from my data, a form of "construct validity" (Lather, 1986: 67). I recognise the CBPR projects comprising *Engage* were distinct social arenas but the reader may find elements of them that ring 'true' to projects with which they are familiar.

6.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research

In terms of limitations of this enquiry and its findings, I start with a fallacy of the *Engage* programme as a whole; designed as it was by a cadre of professionals, it replicated neoliberal funding models. VCSOs had to compete to join the programme and to secure funding, and the programme's aims and time constraints (projects had just over a year for their research) would have shaped, to some extent, the collaborations possible. Whilst co-devised and co-led with Community Connect, *Engage* was funded by the University. As such, the University retained power. Freire's (1970) desire that

marginalised people should seize power through their own praxis was not enacted. Rather, the University was able to condition the programme within the bounds of existing order, sustaining discourses that restricted challenges to the status quo. It was ambitious to expect 'gold standard' CBPR projects to arise from such a context.

In analysing and reporting findings, I have focused on broad professional social categories rather than on local identities. Some subtlety will have been lost because of this. For example, Henkel (2005) and Quigley (2011) note the primacy of disciplines in academics' working lives yet this enquiry did not explore differentials across disciplines. Might academics from more professional-oriented disciplines be better prepared and able to operate within CBPR as opposed to those from more abstract? Nor did the enquiry consider differentials according to career stage. For example, what impact on power relations that of professors within CBPR pedagogical spaces as compared to early career researchers?

Along similar lines, the enquiry did not tease out differences between volunteers who were also service users, compared to those who were simply volunteers, nor the impact of being at different career stages for charity workers. These issues may all affect ways of being and doing within CBPR. And this is before taking into account other local identities – age, gender, ethnicity to name but a few – that will all shape power relations and the positioning of different professional participants.

With regards my research process, the learning exercises assumed learning occurred across sectors, yet interviews revealed intra-sector learning and support, or lack of, that was crucial to nurturing, or constraining, the collaborative whole. The framing of the exercises would have stymied reflections on intra-sector dynamics. And as the research was non-longitudinal, it only marked a moment in time. Revisiting participants now, following the passing of time, might elicit different thoughts and reflections although this is not to belittle the import of their perspectives at the time of my research.

Of course, limitations provide indicators for future research. Closer investigation of intra-sector dynamics to sustaining the collaborative whole would be valuable. Which behaviours and actions within organisations support the development of unifying CBPR

specialised identities, and which are deleterious? And how are specialised identities received back in organisations? Are they legitimised or repressed?

Finally, there is the matter of the extent, and endurance, of CBPR specialised identity transformations. Do transformations endure beyond the research itself? Or are they limited to the research act? Following my research, I had some tantalising insight as to the extent of transformation possible. One of the Environment volunteers is now an active campaigner and has recently been elected a local councillor. And one of the academics emailed that *Engage* had been integral to shaping their evolving identity as an engaged academic. Outlier examples perhaps? Or maybe not. Thus, the need for further research.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Timeline of the *Engage* programme

Date	Activity	Participants	Organisers
January – March 2016	Call for proposals	Local community organisations	Community Connect
April 2016	Matching selected proposals with available and interested academics	N/A	University & Community Connect
May 2016	2 x training sessions for academics: - An introduction to CBPR - Collaborating effectively with voluntary & community sector organisations	Academics	University
June 2016	Informal launch event: Opportunity for academics and community members to meet one another for the first time	Academics and community organisations	University
October 2016	3 days' training on research methods	Community organisations	Community Connect
January 2017	Mid-point catch-up: Opportunity for the projects to share progress-to-date	Academics & community organisations	University
March 2017	An introduction to infographics	Community organisations	Trainer sourced through Community Connect
May 2017	Impact training	Academics & community organisations	Trainer sourced through Community Connect
June 2017	Communications strategy	Academics & community organisations	Trainer sourced through Community Connect
September 2017	Dissemination event in the local authority's city centre building	Academics & community organisations	University & Community Connect

Appendix Two: Self-reported aims and outcomes of *Engage* projects

Organisation & research title	Aims of project	Outcomes of project
Creative *Being Creative: A research project that explores the impact of arts-based peer-led support groups.*	The aim of our project was to collect evidence on the impact of creative peer-led support groups, to explore the main areas that influenced their impact and to find areas of improvement so that the quality of the service can be maintained and improved in the future.	The process has empowered participants and volunteers to express their feelings regarding the process and involvement in peer-led groups and this evidence will be invaluable to Creative in evidencing the impact of such groups to future funders, stakeholders and indeed, participants.
Education *How do young people who attend Supplementary School contribute to the community?*	Develop research knowledge, skills and methods to help the organisation evaluate its work; Ensure the organisation's work is informed by strong evidence-based research; Inform future provision of the organisation's supplementary school; Strengthen the organisation's ability to disseminate good practice in the local education system; Support the development of more effective partnerships; Demonstrate the value and impact of the organisation's Supplementary School to stakeholders; Provide research evidence to demonstrate impact and improve future sustainability;	The research project itself has highlighted the value and benefits for our organisation of working in partnership with the university, Community Connect and other voluntary sector organisations in relation to community-led research. We believe our research has the potential to add something new to the debate on the impact of supplementary education on children and young people, and we hope to develop this as part our project's next steps. As an organisation we have developed new research skills and gained valuable experience which will allow us to continue to develop our organisation's approach to research and evaluation and support others to carry out their own research, whether this is: supporting young people to carry out research; mentoring other organisations thinking about research; or working to help

	Inform the national debate about the role of supplementary schools.	develop the way we evaluate impact across our sector with funders and other stakeholders.
Environment *How do parents take their children to school and why do they choose to travel that way?*	To understand transport movement on the east of the city and what residents think about it.	Information sheets on the *Engage* research are available to the public through hand-outs and online; A short film has been made about the numbers of cars entering the area to the east of the city; Researchers from the University are presently working on a related piece of work using real-time traffic data to estimate the impact of school terms and holidays on actual journey times within the city. This automated monitoring should allow us to estimate the effect of these, and other events (e.g. roadworks), on the city's roads. Testing is on-going until the end of 2017.
Phobia *Seeking Help: A comparison between the NHS and a mental health charity*	This project aimed to try and understand why it takes people with anxiety so long to seek help. Many anxiety sufferers have years of suffering before they finally decide to get treatment.	The results produced so far will enable us to improve and refine the recruitment processes we have in place for finding new members. The project has given us food-for-thought when it comes to the problem of how to reach the people who are suffering with debilitating anxiety but have yet to seek help.
Play *In what way does Play's outdoor outreach play services impact on*	To investigate the impact that Play's outdoor outreach play services have on alleviating play deprivation in a local community.	Through this project, we: Validated Play's community-based outreach services, generating evidence and confidence to share this

the alleviation of play deprivation?		information with a wider audience; Developed closer collaboration between academics and the local community; Brought to focus that the University has an opportunity to invest in its local communities as well as in international projects.

Appendix Three: Memory story and visual artefacts instructions

Please complete one of the below two exercises. I will ask you to talk me through the exercise that you choose to complete when we meet.

Memory story exercise

The task is to write a short experience story about … *A situation when I felt I really learned something from my academic / community partner* [delete as appropriate]

By "learning" I mean anything that you learned, positive or negative about a topic, about yourself, about others, about research etc. You may have learned multiple things from the situation – that is fine. The important thing is that the situation you describe took place between you and your academic / community partner as part of your *Engage* project.

Take five minutes to think about your situation and what you learned.

Then take no more than ten minutes to write the story.

Basic principles:

- Write the story in the first person (i.e. I went, I wrote)
- Just write what comes to mind without concern for writing style, typos etc
- Try to write as if you were in the situation you are describing
- The less polished the story is, the better

Visual artefact exercise

The task is to represent via a visual image … *A situation when I felt I really learned something from my academic / community partner* [delete as appropriate]

By "learning" I mean anything that you learned, positive or negative about a topic, about yourself, about others, about research etc. You may have learned multiple things from the situation – that is fine. The important thing is that the situation you visually represent took place between you and your academic / community partner as part of your *Engage* project.

Basic principles:

- The image can take any visual form: photo, drawing, animation, digitally-created graphic etc
- The image may be a direct representation of the situation or act as a metaphor for it

Aim to spend no more than 15 minutes on this exercise.

Appendix Four: Identity exercise instructions

I'm interested in finding out more about your role both at [organisation name] and in the *Engage* project that you did.

In terms of your role at [organisation name]:

> *Please list 5 – 10 things you think you need as an individual to be able to do your job. For example, you could think of this in terms of knowledge, skills, understanding, values, beliefs, personal qualities, resources or anything else that comes to mind. The list doesn't need to be in order of priority.*

Then, in terms of your role in the *Engage* project:

> *Please list 5 – 10 things you think you needed as an individual to conduct your project. For example, you could think of this in terms of knowledge, skills, understanding, values, beliefs, personal qualities, resources or anything else that comes to mind. Some of the things you come up with may be the same or similar to your other list, some may not. It doesn't matter either way. And again, the list doesn't need to be in order of priority.*

Do not over-think either list; just give your gut response. We'll have an opportunity to discuss your lists in further detail when we meet.

Appendix Five: Learning interview schedule

Learning Exercise (story or visual)

Ask participant to either read out their memory story or describe their visual artefact. The visual artefact might well be more discursive but in both cases (and certainly in the instance of the memory story), ask:

Do you have a sense as to why this was an important learning moment for you, as to why it has stayed in your memory?
Why? *Will help reveal the reason behind / significance for the 'epiphany'*

Do you have any reflections on your role in the story and to how the experience panned out for you?

How easy or not was it for you to identify a story?

Learning: Follow-up questions

Can you think of any other significant learning moments that you had from the same person or someone completely different at any other part of your *Engage* project or from the wider *Engage* programme?
Why? *Will highlight any other significant learning from community partners / academics. Might intimate how easy or not it was to cross boundaries.*

What do you think your academic / community partner may have learned from you?
Why? *This will provide additional material to line up against the memory stories / arts-based method, providing the counter view*

Were there any major turning points in your work together? These are points at which something happened that altered the course of your project for better or worse.
Why? *This will highlight any other epiphanies and potentially, moments of tension / learning disjuncture*

Please describe a challenging moment in your project. Was it overcome and if so, how?
Why? *Will highlight any moments of tension / learning disjuncture. Will show how they deal with new opportunities*

What has been produced through your project?
Why? *To identify what has been produced through the project – new outputs / understandings / facts / information / skills etc. There might also be a difference in the outputs identified by the academics as opposed to the community partners*

What has happened as a result of your project? What difference has it made?
Why? *Broad question to begin to unpick some of the outcomes, the change, resultant from the project. Local knowledge and action*
Follow-up (if needed): What difference, if any, has the project made to your project beneficiaries?

Do you think that you have benefitted from the knowledge produced by this project in any way? For example, has it affected what you do in relation to your day job and / or caused any personal change that you can identify?
Why? *Identifying any personal change or impact on professional identity from conducting CBPR*

Can you think of any ways that working with an academic / community partner has benefitted your organisation? Examples (if required):

- Public image / trust of your beneficiaries in you as an organisation
- Ability to innovate
- Access to resources (financial, in-kind, human, social capital)
- Ability to influence policy
- Ability to make real changes for and alongside people in challenging contexts
- Sustainability
- Ability to work in partnership

Why? *To highlight some of the social and institutional changes*

Did the project open up any new perspectives / ways of thinking for you? For example, did it challenge what you already thought about a particular topic? Or did it confirm existing views that you had?
Why? *Highlight disturbing of current knowing / embracing multiple and new ways of seeing, thinking. Will show how they deal with new things, value of co-production*

What, if anything, do you think that you have been able to achieve through the project in collaboration that could not have been achieved alone?
Why? *An attempt to elicit examples of co-production, to tease out whether this happened or whether it was just appropriation*

Appendix Six: Identity interview schedule

Identity exercise

Please give me an overview of your role at XXXX
Why? *Just as context setting and to ease them into this section*

Ask them to read out their list of things they feel they needed for both their day job and their *Engage* role. Note how many things they came up with – any differences in terms of numbers? Ask them why if so.

Do you have any observations as to any significant similarities between your two lists?
Do you have any observations as to any significant differences between your two lists?
If you were to choose a top three from your lists, what would they be?

Identity: Follow-up questions

What motivated you to get involved in *Engage*? Were there any values that were important to you?
Why? *This is about the 'heart' part of their identity*

What was your role on your *Engage* project – what did you end up doing?
Why? *This is about the 'hands' part of their identity*

What do you think you brought to your project?
Why? *This is about the 'head' part of their identity – knowledge, expertise, skills etc*

At the start of your project, were there any particular things that you remember being anxious or nervous about? How did those things pan out?
Why? *This might give some insight as to how 'different' the CBPR project felt for them, how it contrasted (or not) to their professional role*

What did you perceive as the role for the academic / VCSO staff / volunteers [delete as appropriate] in your project? Did the academic / VCSO expect you to defer to them at any stage?
Why? *This will reveal the status of the 'other' and perhaps indicate extent of collaboration vs. appropriation*

How close or not did you feel to your academic / VCSO staff / volunteers [delete as appropriate]. Why do you think that is?
Why? *This might reveal shared values and / or distinct differences in the collaborating partners. Might also reveal something about positionality / personal identities etc*

Would you be willing to be involved in a similar project again in the future? Why or why not? Do you think your organisation would be supportive of any future involvement?
Why? *Highlight any explicit resistance or support for involvement in Engage and whether this troubles individuals or not.*

Appendix Seven: Information sheets

Department of Education
University of XXXX

Title of Study: **New ways of 'being' and 'doing' in Community-Based Participatory Research: Transforming professional identities and society through pedagogic rights**

Name of researcher: Mr Ed Stevens

The study is being undertaken as part of my EdD degree in the Department of Education at the University of XXXX. The study has received ethical approval.

The aim of the study is to explore the *Engage* programme specifically, how individuals' identities may have evolved through learning that has taken place as part of the programme. I am interested in capturing the experiences of those involved in the programme – academics, charity workers and volunteers.

Involvement in the study requires a commitment in two parts:

1. Undertaking two exercises (total time commitment of 30 minutes) ahead of a meeting with myself. The first exercise will involve writing about, or visually representing, a situation on your *Engage* project where you feel you learned something. The second exercise will get you to think about your identity in relation to your role as an academic, charity worker or volunteer

2. An interview of around one hour with myself at a time and in a place of your choosing. In this interview, you will share the outcomes of your two exercises and I will then ask you follow-up questions to explore your learning and identity further in relation to your *Engage* project

You will be free to stop the interviews and withdraw from the research at any time. In addition, you will have access to interview transcripts and will be able to amend or withdraw any information you so choose.

The analysis of our interviews will be written up and used anonymously in my thesis. Data will only be used (again, anonymously) for a wider evaluation of the *Engage* programme if you give explicit permission.

The study is supervised by [supervisor name] who may be contacted at [supervisor email address] or [supervisor telephone number].

Appendix Eight: Informed consent sheet

Title of Study: **New ways of 'being' and 'doing' in Community-Based Participatory Research: Transforming professional identities and society through pedagogic rights**

Name of researcher: Mr Ed Stevens

I have been informed about the nature of this study and willingly consent to take part in it

I understand that I will have access to interview transcripts and will be able to amend or withdraw any information I so choose

I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time

I understand that my data will be written up anonymously for an EdD thesis

I give permission for my data to be used anonymously for a wider evaluation of the *Engage* programme

- Yes
- No

I am over 16 years of age.

Name _____

Signed _____

Date _____

There should be two signed copies, one for participant, one for researcher.

Appendix Nine: Example of a completed analysis template for the learning exercise

Id	Abstract	Orientation	Action	Evaluation	Resolution
XX	Preparing and delivering a joint presentation at the Dissemination event. Their fears that the narrative would be unclear and low quality but that in fact, the presentation went well.	End of programme Project team Dissemination event Academic	Preparing for the presentation that involved a couple of meetings that didn't dispel their concerns, as there was still data to analyse. Delivery on the day went well – they judged the presentation as excellent	Their recognition about the need to trust, to recognise that people outside of academia can carry narratives. They learnt more about what it takes to co-produce (they have the values for it but not necessarily the skills), and the need to be less controlling in such projects. There's a juxtaposition / conflict between academic ways of being and co-production	Their fears were unfounded and the presentation went very well. They thought VCSO might be amateurish but they were not.
Ped Rights	**Enhancement:** Gaining an insight into what co-production is like, about how to behave in co-produced projects (being less controlling and trusting people). They're therefore learning how to 'be' and that this involves shedding some of his 'normal' ways of being. **Communitas:**				

	Aligned with the above, is the notion of ceding power to try and build communitas and to recognise that non-academics are capable of carrying narratives.
Slant	Positive – the presentation ended up going excellently in their opinion LEARNING ABOUT SELF, OTHERS & RESEARCH
Identity	Leader (but would prefer to be a 'deputy' or 'coach') – they are therefore willing to cede power. They have the values for co-production but not necessarily the skills. It was a partnership with them as leader; they would have preferred collaborative leadership. The story challenges their 'normal' academic identity, one where they are always in control, give their own presentations, and can devise clear and high-quality narratives. In their clinician role, they're used to thinking that they know best, which is controlling and not good for co-production [p 2 transcript]
Quotes	*I suppose I overdo control!* [control that they're used to in their 'normal' academic identity] *It's kind of an ideal that's described, but it's about people, people, people having equal weight in the decision making and-and-and-and the process. Er and being complementary, but not necessarily dominant, and I'm a bugger for being dominant* [p 3 transcript, defining what co-production is for them] *So, I think it ended up that way er because, because we don't, I don't have the skills to do it. So, I think I've got the values. Er but I think it's really just, I haven't got the skills to let go, if, if letting go is a skill, which I think it probably is in this context* [p 4 transcript, having the values but not the skills for co-production] *The learning was about trusting people in different less academic roles to be able to carry the narrative at least as well or better than I* [the importance of trust in co-production]

	The multifaceted nature of the project and the move towards co-production became clearer to me, along with the importance of being less controlling [learning about co-production and how to be in this situation] *How articulate they were. They-they-they, and how they, they kept to the narrative. Yeah* [p 5 transcript, realisation that VCSO capable]
Obs	Quite a lot of self-awareness in this story – 'I suppose I overdo control'; 'I was the most poorly prepared' etc. Within the narrative, they also leads the reader as to how to evaluate: 'The learning was about trusting people …' This story says something about how to 'be' in a co-produced context – about the need to cede control and to trust. I remember in talking around the story that we identified how such ways of 'being' might be antithetical to 'normal' ways of being as an academic (e.g. where you attack; are reified for your expertise; work alone) Note how rare it is for them to do joint presentations; they're used to being a sole expert. As a default, they assume that VCSO will be amateurish and is jolted in the presentation to realise that they're not, that they can hold a narrative.

Appendix Ten: Example of a completed memo template for volunteers from the identity exercise and identity-related discussions

Vol	Notes	Observations
XX	Strong on the time-limited nature of the CBPR role, which necessitated practical management skills. Their volunteer role was more open-ended, which meant it felt less pressured. Initially, XX was paid in their role but continued unpaid. In part, this was due to the personal relationships but also, as they felt they were making a difference and leaving a mark. The relaxed, friendly atmosphere of the project meant they didn't fear saying anything. Might this have enabled more creative ideas (e.g. their trip to Glasgow)?	Management skills came up as a strong theme across the social categories. The artificial pressures of the various deadlines imposed by the wider *Engage* programme drove people forward. XX speaks really to the power of the personal. In part, it was the personal connections that kept them committed to the role even when they stopped being paid. But also, they make the link between informality and creativity. Perhaps the removal of (professional) boundaries in the 'mess' of CBPR helps to facilitate creativity?
XX	They noted that as a volunteer, they needed the emotional space and physical resources to engage. By nature, volunteering is through choice – perhaps a more conscious decision than elements of our day-to-day work lives? A distinction for them was the collision they felt between ideas / paradigms of VCSO and of the academic.	There are perhaps more practical challenges / barriers for volunteers to engagement (e.g. IT support, travel expenses) that CSOs don't face as much Note that VCSO and the other VCSOs will have set ideas / approaches to their services and service users. The nature of the academic might be to challenge these fundamentals. How best to do this? And how best to receive such challenge?

	Initially, they were 'volunteered for' for the research – it wasn't their choice (compelled to do – felt they 'should (perhaps like many volunteers?)). Their motivations evolved though when they saw the value of the research, when it spoke to VCSO values. Their role was more of a 'workhorse', providing practical and helping hands rather than any specific knowledge and understanding. XX was the person who engaged 1-1 with XX for the 'academic' angle.	In terms of the above, is it even starker for advocacy organisations that are campaigning from a very set position and by their very nature, could be more closed to other perspectives? Group think is challenged Note the varying levels of engagement in CBPR. Some might just be doers, literally helping the conducting of the research. They may be less inclined to engage deeply or intellectually in a process over and above this. Perhaps it's the difference between critical and instrumental research?
XX	As just a minor organisation, receiving the grant was a really big deal. They felt the pressure to step up, to actually deliver something and to appear professional. This pressure might have been less for the CSOs (although a pressure to perform was definitely there for them too). XX drew on their knowledge and experience from the creative arts to appreciate CBPR as a process. This meant that they saw research as a creative process and was comfortable with the not knowing. As a stay-at-home parent, volunteering is very much a validation of self for XX. They want to feel that they can bring something of use to the world, a sense of purpose also there for XX and XX. This motivation resulted in their researching literature in the absence of support from XX.	One of my literature review readings (Stoecker?) suggests that research often gets confused for action and it's not, it's the change that happens from the research that's the action. However, the VCSO example somewhat contradicts this. In fact, the research was important action for an organisation that was largely a talking shop, plus it acted as an opportunity to mobilise people XX observed that most people want a clear outcome – this was certainly the case with XX. It's a more instrumental approach. This meant that they missed out on the opportunity to learn from process XX admits that XX was right about collecting the data and I shouldn't lose sight of this!

	XX local knowledge was very strong – they know what local people think. XX approach denied this knowledge, which explains her frustration.	XX talked about being motivated by anger. I've heard academics saying this before. They see research as a positive frame to direct her anger into, a frame where they can make a difference. Anger must be a driver for many in advocacy organisations
XX	As an advocacy organisation, VCSO is a bit of a talking shop, often preaching to the converted. The research proved an opportunity to mobilise people to take action, and to reach out to new people. The value of the academic: • Organising people • Giving a point of focus (research focuses an issue) • Package concerns in a way that might influence others As there was no organisational structure, there was added import to the university being able to offer the likes of photocopying or IT support. XX felt that there were elements of co-production up-front but that XX withdrew at the analysis and dissemination phases. This meant that they missed the opportunity to leverage an academic study from the research. XX day job as an anthropologist meant they were well placed to provide guidance and input for the interviews and	Academic perspectives on collaboration vary. Some feel it's about telling / advising people what to do, and they do it. Others recognise it's a process where you support people to identify what they want to do, how they might do it, and then you support The finite nature of the project, as opposed to the open-ended commitment of volunteering, meant it was easier to secure people as volunteers As an advocacy organisation, having proved the fact there was an issue, they needed to address the 'so what?' What can we do? There was a failure to think through how they could use the data once they'd collated it Given that XX saw himself as a supervisor, they weren't in the mind-set of thinking how they might publish from this research, so kept a distance at the analysis and dissemination phases Discourses around advocacy groups can almost be demeaning – the looking down at partisan or lobby groups. The kudos that academia brought was therefore very important. This speaks to a tension as exposed in my MSc between equal power relations vs. leveraging the power of the university to your advantage

	questionnaires, and to calm fears over 'deceiving' the community.	
XX	The process of research was new and exciting for XX, so they asked lots of questions and attended as many workshops as they could. They came with a mind-set where they'd: • Be prepared to have a go • Share ideas • Listen • Ask questions Striving for a sense of purpose, to have a voice, was key to their involvement – cross-reference XX and XX. There's a lovely example of how XX helped to keep service users feeling included and empowered through the project – sharing photos and stories of project meetings. This way, service users could see how their data was being used and felt a sense of belonging.	Validation was so important to XX. They had to be reminded (by XX) ahead of the Guildhall presentation that they knew what they were talking about. Reassurance was important. However, they did recognise the importance of their being an insider researcher and felt XX couldn't have gathered the rich data that they did Interestingly, they never saw the academics (even at the outset) as above them. Rather, they looked forward to learning from educationalists and building their confidence. A positive frame for the relationship not an intimidating one XX was active in extending the communitas to service users through updates and clear communications In this project, all involved were discovering anew, rather than the academics already knowing the answers. This process of shared discovery was crucial to communitas